TOWARDS A GLOBAL SENSE OF PLACE: THE PRACTICAL ADEQUACY OF RECENT THEORISATION IN ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY TO INTERPRET RESTRUCTURING AND CHANGE IN A TASMANIAN LOCALITY

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Tasmania
Hobart, Australia

April 1993

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis has two inter-related themes: the effects of restructuring on individuals' labour market experience and household coping strategies in a Tasmanian locality; and the practical adequacy of current and emerging theoretical perspectives in economic geography to interpret rapid change. The two are integrated by a realist approach.

The case study is set in the theoretical context of four major areas of literature - uneven development, labour market, informal activities and rural sociology - and in the historical context of the Tasmanian space economy through discussion of the Long Boom (1945 to 1973), an analysis of labour markets 1971-1986 and a detailed review of the restructuring processes operating since 1986. A model of formal and informal economic activities is put forward in order to make sense of conflicting terminology.

The case study provides information on changing conditions of work and attitudes to work which vary within a labour market segmented into the major employer, local small businesses and the state, as well as by gender. It also raises issues of the construction of knowledge by the use of out-dated dualisms and taxonomies. A more complete and relevant model of the social relations of employment is suggested, together with a view of small business which conceptually integrates farming enterprises with other rural businesses through the concept of the pluriactive household. The role of these businesses and households in the local construction of place is examined through the links integrating them differentially into the global economy.

Concluding reflections relate the experience of writing the thesis to more abstract issues. The gendered experience of place; the accommodations between production and consumption made by different groups with different aspirations; the consequent tensions between those in favour of development and those favouring conservation in the context of the structure/agency debate are each related to emerging theorisation. The author concludes that new strands of theory, notably the powerful perceptions of pluriactivity as a link between capital and households, household decisions exerting influences of global proportions environmentally as well as economically, a new view of producer/consumer relations, and of a global wage relation spanning formal and informal activities, together offer a new way of conceptualising local social situations. A grasp of the processes by which these situations are integrated into, and reflexively influenced by, global capital and regulatory frameworks, and the resolution of the problem of sustainable development require a fresh perspective which has been potentially provided by the emancipatory insights of a global sense of place.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Specific acknowledgments, as well as for friendship and support, must be made to Airlie Alam, the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies' graphic artist, for drawing Fig. 7.11 and for her command of arcuate lettering in Figs. 2.5, 2.8 and 2.18, and to Dr David Hood for permission to use his computerised map in Fig. 5.3.

I am grateful to Dr Peter Wilde for introducing me to the turbulence of theorisation in economic geography in the 1980s and encouraging me to return to tertiary studies. When illness prevented his continuing to supervise the project, Dr Les Wood of the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies and Prof. Richard Le Heron of Massey University, New Zealand took over in a felicitous New International Division of Labour, and I thank them both deeply for their time, patience, encouragement, experience and inspiration.

I thank Prof. Jamie Kirkpatrick for advice and putting heart into me at a difficult time, and the staff and postgraduates of the Department for friendship and support, especially Jennie Whinam for the odd glass of champagne, Matthew Bradshaw and David Harries for interesting theoretical discussions and Kerrie Green for supervising my filling in of forms.

The thesis could not have been accomplished without the help of the residents of Spring Bay, not only the hundred who let me in to their homes and lives, but also those who allowed me to trial the interview schedule on them and all the people who helped track down names in my sample. I express my thanks to everyone, and especially to Joan Roberts, who shared with me her extensive knowledge of the Spring Bay area, and by her willingness to answer questions, helped me to avoid many pitfalls.

My family all know how grateful I am to them for moral support, but I particularly wish to express my gratitude to my husband Rod for financial support at times, and for his patience, tolerance, flexibility, good humour and sustained interest in the project as his life was altered by it.

I wish to thank the staff at the Morris Miller Library of the University of Tasmania for their unfailing help and courtesy while I researched four bodies of literature. Finally, I have a deep sense of personal gratitude to the unknown people at the Apple, Microsoft and Claris Corporations who extended my 'personal productivity' and without whom it can safely be said this thesis would never have been written.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACL	Australian Cement Ltd
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
Adsteam	Adelaide Steamship Co Ltd
AMP	Australian Mutual Provident Society
ANM	Australian Newsprint Mills Ltd
APM	Australian Paper Manufacturers Ltd
APPM	Associated Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd
ASCO	Australian Standard Classification of Occupations
ASTEC	Australian Science and Technology Committee
ATAIU	Australian Timber and Allied Industries Union
BHP	The Broken Hill Proprietary Co Ltd
BP Australia	The British Petroleum Co of Australia Ltd
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy (of the European Economic Community)
CASL	Cadbury Schweppes Australia Ltd
CCLO	Classification and Classified List of Occupations
CEG	Combined Environment Groups
CEO	chief executive officer
CER	closer economic relations (between Australia and NZ)
CES	Commonwealth Employment Service
CFC	chloro-fluoro-carbons
CIPL	Cement Industries Pty Ltd
CMC	Clements Marshall Consolidated Pty Ltd
Corp	Corporation
CRA	*formerly* Conzinc Riotinto of Australia Ltd
CRESAP	apparent acronym, origin unknown in Morris Miller library catalogue
cs	community services
CSP	Cadbury Schweppes plc
CSR	*formerly* Colonial Sugar Refining Co Ltd
CUB	Carlton and United Breweries
DEET	Department of Employment, Education and Training (Australia)
DEIRT	Department of Employment, Industrial Relations and Training (Tasmania)
DET	Department of Employment and Training (Tasmania) now DEIRT
DIY	do it yourself
EEC	European Economic Community
ECLHA	East Coast Log Hauliers Association
ETU	Electrical Trades Union
EZ	Electrolytic Zinc
FEDFA	Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association

FFIS	Forest and Forest Industries Strategy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GR model	Geographic Restructuring model
HEC	Hydro-electric Commission
ICI	Imperial Chemical Industries
IEL	Industrial Equity Ltd
ILO	International Labour Organisation
km	kilometre
LF	labour force
LGA	local government area
MEWU	Metal and Engineering Workers Union
MJHFH	Multiple Job Holding Farm Households research project
MOVEET	Ministers for Vocational Education, Employment and Training
NBHP	North Broken Hill Peko Ltd
NIDL	new international division of labour
na	not available
nei	not elsewhere indicated
ns	not stated
NSW	New South Wales
NZ	New Zealand
Petersville	Petersville Sleigh Ltd
RTZ	Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation plc
SA	South Australia
SA	*Societé Anonyme* (after a firm's name - equivalent of limited liability company)
TAB	Totalizator Agency Board
TAFE	Training and Further Education
TDA	Tasmanian Development Authority
TEMCO	Tasmanian Electro Metallurgical Co Pty Ltd
TPFH	Tasmanian Pulp and Forest Holdings Ltd
TWU	Transport Workers Union
UHT	ultra heat treated
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
USA	United States of America
WA	West Australia

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about people and places; about the decisions people make in everyday life over the paid and unpaid work they do and the places in which they live and work. It is also about the ways in which everyday life and work are changing, how places are being reconstructed, and how each of these processes is affecting the other. The focus is on the web of interactions relating to production and reproduction in a non-metropolitan area. Although these interactions, within the capitalist system, define the nature of the process of surplus value extraction, and the ways in which labour can be hooked up into systems siphoning profits into capital accumulation, not all the influences are purely economic. Individuals, and not only those in an alternative lifestyle, have made different accommodations between income and consumption, on the basis of principle as well as contingency; some have deliberately sought to distance themselves from particular aspects of capitalist society and to maintain or create other social characteristics. The degree to which this withdrawal is feasible reflects the complex relations existing between capital in its various forms, wage labour, and the social requirements and welfare provision of the state; within this nexus all individuals are linked in a variety of obvious and unperceived ways into the networks of the global economy. The globalisation of capitalism is well advanced, and the study necessarily takes into account global influences in the local arena, and seeks to understand the scope and power of individual actions in a global context. The thesis is therefore a study of agency and structure in the changing social relations of production and reproduction in late twentieth century capitalism, which moves towards an understanding of a global sense of place.

Work and employment are ambiguous concepts and interpretation depends on the recognition that they are social constructs. There is little that is economically or technologically determined in the transformation of nature and natural resources. The social situations in which work is undertaken are contingent; the constant reconstruction of conditions of work, the acceptance of the value of new forms of work or of previously unrecognised activities, and the linkages between paid and unpaid work are all socially negotiable.

In the Spring Bay area of the east coast of Tasmania, the island state in the south-east of the Commonwealth of Australia (Figure 0.1), timber is one of the main resources. People cutting timber may be working in any of a variety of social relations of production and reproduction. They may be tree fellers, self-employed and working at piece rates, sub-contracted to logging contractors who are linked to the multi-national operators of a woodchip mill exporting to Japan. They may be individuals of either gender, or family groups, in the labour force or not, pensioners, employed or unemployed, saving on costs of home heating by using an area set aside by the State Forestry Commission for free firewood collection. They may be members of a service club cutting firewood for less able

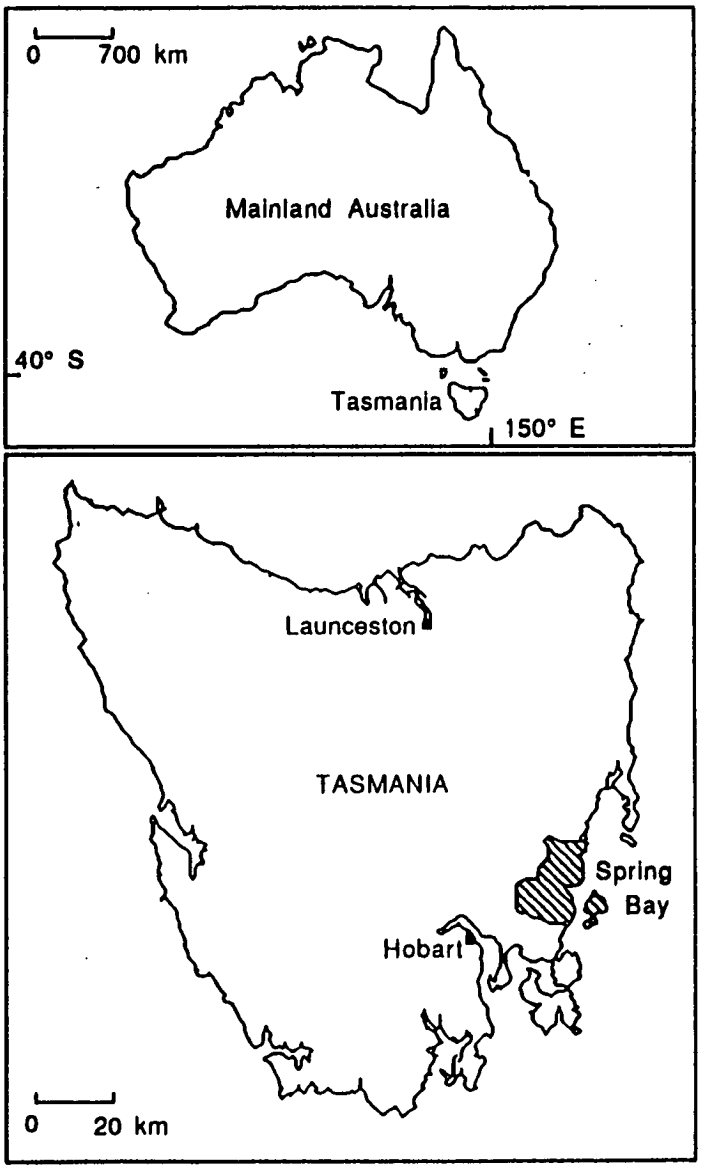

Fig. 0.1 Location maps of the study area

members of the community. They may be farmers or self-employed builders taking a load of firewood to the city to sell 'on the side' as a reaction to the rural recession.

Similarly, people utilising the local marine resource may be poaching undersized crayfish; setting up an aquaculture enterprise; harvesting otherwise unwanted fish for industrial processing by a firm, currently in receivership, under negotiation for sale to a Japanese company. They may be operating a family fishing boat selling to buyers for the mainland and overseas, or to the local fish and chip shop; voluntarily providing protein for local pensioners; or be fishing for enjoyment in a leisure context which nonetheless provides food for family, friends and neighbours, and may be additionally productive through informal bartering.

Equally, people caring for children under school age during working hours may be mothers at home enjoying their traditional role, or feeling exploited and oppressed because of a shortage of child care facilities and job opportunities; they may be grandparents or neighbours helping out; they may be self-employed under the Family Day Care scheme or illegal child-minders; or they may be involved in communal schemes such as playgroups or government-funded Child Care Centres. Members of a single household may be operating within several of these forms of activity, paid and unpaid, formal and informal, employed and self-employed, and some within accepted gender roles and some extending them, all adding to the complexity of social relations.

This complexity is place-based, but not in a simple way; if experience is complex then places as 'centre[s] of meaning constructed by experience' (Tuan 1974: 152) are infinitely so. For some the links with other places in the global economy are essential, and actions of other people in faraway places impinge directly on life in Spring Bay. For some the peripheral location and lack of certain links constrain possibilities of employment and lifestyle, while for others the improving of linkages with neighbouring places is eroding the viability of existing small businesses. For some individuals or families, a lifetime of varied experiences in Spring Bay and elsewhere has crystallised into 'the right job in the right place', whether growing oysters or running a tourist facility. Especially for those in manufacturing, the place of work is not only a meeting-place of extractive and processing activities, where things are brought to be worked on, but is also a distinct, separate part of existence, set apart from home and the everyday business of living. Others, particularly in farming and some small businesses, 'live on the job' and their perception of place, work and living is markedly different. Some have made a deliberate choice of Spring Bay as a place for living, whether as a place for retirement, a base for commuting or as a venue for an alternative and partly self-sufficient lifestyle. For the many employed in various forms of transport, place and space may operate in the form of home as the hub of a network of routeways; in the poet T. S. Eliot's phrase 'home is where one starts from, late and soon', but this is often a gendered experience, and home is also potentially a prison.

Within this complex web, in Spring Bay as in the western world in general, is evidence of much change in recent years: there are new working arrangements, such as job sharing, broad-banding of occupations and multi-skilling; there is increased unemployment, hidden by some aspects of self-employment, and a considerable degree of under-employment; there are changes in working hours, in shift work, casual work and part-time employment. Some, such as multiple job-holding, represent old methods of putting together a living in a marginal area expressed in new terms. New enterprises such as the cooperative scallop project or new tourist facilities nevertheless make use of old forms of employment such as seasonal casual female labour, and a woman returning after the evening meal to continue processing an exceptionally large catch of abalone might well speculate on the theme of *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.* In other areas, continuity takes a different form; some men have worked twenty years at the woodchip mill, and their sons are working there too, even though the mill's life was originally intended to be fifteen years. Beneath the surface of some of the issues of change is a deep and increasingly socially divisive split between those looking for increased economic development and more jobs in the immediate future and those working towards an environmentally sustainable economy as a first priority. Tasmania is one of the few areas round the world where environmental issues have recently been successfully politicised, and the implications for Spring Bay, with employment very dependent on utilising native forests, are just beginning to be felt.

There is, then, on the one hand, turmoil and transformation, uncertainty and tenuous hopes for the future within the social relations of both production and reproduction. On the other hand, some stable relations from the past remain, particularly in the agricultural community, despite global changes to which that community is adjusting. Some reactions are of helplessness in the face of external forces, others of almost gleeful grasping of emerging opportunities; some individuals display a grim determination to survive by existing or additional means, while others accept change philosophically in the spirit of 'It's still a job, isn't it?'

Economic geographers have reacted to the unforeseen and fundamental changes in the world economy since the long boom by adjusting theoretical perspectives. Dissatisfaction with the positivist approach led to a series of attempts to understand and explain the origins, spatial outcomes and implications of the new conditions. These theoretical developments have diverged from previous approaches in their attitude to knowledge building as well as to methods of data selection and collection. Structural marxists have emphasised the structural unity of society and have focused on the structure and power of institutions, with little acceptance of the ability of the individual to bring about change; as change within marxism itself has progressed, however, there has been an anti-determinist move towards recognising the power of people to effect changes and alter institutions. The regulationist school within marxism has examined, in the concepts of

regime of accumulation and mode of regulation, the temporarily stabilised relations between production and consumption, and the ensemble of social institutions and *mores* which aid the continued existence of that stability. Humanists in particular have explored a variety of approaches and qualitative methods emphasising individuals in relation to their environment, and, moving away from earlier phenomenology, have stressed the tenet that facts can not be separated from values. Structurationists have sought to unravel the relation between structure and agency, and although some attempts appear abstruse and metaphysical, explaining one unknown in the terms of a newly created unknown, others by emphasising the primacy and reality of relationships, offer a framework for further progress.

There has been a tendency for these post-positivist developments to be subsumed in the growing recognition of the postmodern stance, which accepts and celebrates diversity instead of seeking uniformity, resists all-embracing theory and deconstructs accepted concepts, and especially dualisms, which may have their unacknowledged origin in modernist thinking. Both structurationism and postmodernism have included an interest in locality studies, which has moved from a restrictive preoccupation with small areas to a more fruitful exploration of the nature of valid processes of abstraction and generalisation. Within the linked ideas of 'the search for common ground' and 'the ground for common search', there is emerging a tenuous 'unity in diversity', a seeking for a more self-consciously aware philosophical position which acknowledges the richness of other discourses and the potential of eclecticism, while not attempting to minimise the fundamental differences between discourses. This search at a philosophical level has been accompanied not only by a move towards interdisciplinary studies but by a blurring of the boundaries between different branches of geography in order to achieve a wider interpretation of the spatial outcomes of the multiplicity of social relations.

The question remains whether these moves are proving sufficient to come to terms with the perceived crisis in world capitalism, the related changes in the geographical bases of everyday life and the nature of the links between them. Do the theoretical perspectives prompt the right questions to elicit understanding of rapid change and spatial differentiation? It is noticeable that there is a move in some of the more recent literature away from the broad philosophical sweep towards a more pragmatic investigation of middle level theory to avoid the dangers of 'analytical short-circuiting' (Jessop 1990a: 205).

In this thesis, the principal questions asked are two apparently simple and pragmatic ones. First, how are individuals and households experiencing, handling and surviving the new circumstances at the end of the twentieth century? Second, how far, in what circumstances and by what means are people in the late 1980s, in an apparently peripheral economy, integrated into the global economy?

Implied within these broad themes is an investigation of:

- the variety of situations in which individuals work, and thus the nature of holistic real life experience of job status and the labour market as distinct from the atomist approach of professional statisticians;

- the implications of these differing situations with regard to job search, stability of employment, skills and training, prospects of promotion, level of remuneration and unionisation;

- the possible variation in such situations between sectors and especially between large, multinational employers, the state in its capacity as an employer and small local employers;

- the degree of change in these situations in relation to the effects of the continuing economic restructuring in Australia and elsewhere in the period of the late 80s;

- the means by which family units are adapting to changing circumstances in the construction of combinations selected out of the varied strategies of full-time and part-time employment, self-employment, multiple job-holding, self-provisioning, state transfer payments and extended family and voluntary networks; and

- the ways in which people use the opportunities of space and place and in turn reproduce or reconstruct space and place.

The links between people in specific situations in a specific area and the global economy are created from the articulation of capitalist processes and those of reproduction. A focus on the nature of activities and relationships at individual and household levels provides several windows on the reshaping links, the processes behind the developments, and the implications of the developments for living in a capitalist world, for gender initiatives and also for state policies, since '[t]he world cannot be rationally changed unless it is adequately interpreted' (Bhaskar 1989: 5).

The study thus sets a reinterpreted body of theory from several literatures alongside evidence of life and livelihood in a specific area in the late 1980s, and each informs the other. In existing conceptualisations there are theoretical gaps, inadequate definitions, misleading dualisms and perhaps even some total misinterpretation; there is not only a shortage of empirical studies, but also deficiencies in empirical perspectives and perhaps some aspects that are totally ignored. Within this situation some contribution can be made and the study provides evidence of conditions and mechanisms, experiences and responses in the late 1980s. The importance of the case study within the thesis is that the individual situations and their links to wider structures force a wider than usual conceptualisation; it demands an attempt to dissolve dichotomies such as

formal/informal, rural/urban, core/periphery and even in-the-labour-force/not-in-the-labour-force and replace them by a broader conceptualisation. This is not a totalising stance, given the level of abstraction, but a much more appropriate conception, from which it is possible to tackle dimensions of deeper, richer, more complete theorisation. Because the value of holding structure and agency together is recognised, theoretically informed analysis is possible. This enables some assessment to be made of the structured coherence into which different groups of people in the area are inserted. In Le Heron's phrase[1] 'People anywhere/everywhere are multiply connected into processes they do not discern, understand or even want to know about'; this experiential view links directly to Bhaskar's Transformational Model of Social Activity:

> The conception I am proposing is that people, in their conscious human activity, for the most part unconsciously reproduce (or occasionally transform) the structures that govern their substantive activities of production. Thus people do not marry to reproduce the nuclear family, or work to reproduce the capitalist economy. But it is nevertheless the unintended consequence (and inexorable result) of, as it is also the necessary condition for, their activity (Bhaskar 1989: 80)

The phrase 'the global economy' is widely used, but it is open to question how often this means only partly global in a spatial sense, despite extensive trading links, financial transactions and almost universal electronic communications. In a social sense, not all individuals or groups participate equally in the new and dynamic situation, and indeed the advantages it brings to some may disadvantage others, either by simple comparison or by being trapped in a static backwater. Even within a specific spatial setting, there will be those who are part of the global scene and those who remain bounded by their locality, some willingly, some unknowingly and some powerless to escape.

The nature of the ties of the local to the global are different in different places and require articulation. In particular, the network of power relations in a specific area consists of decision-making at different spatial scales: individual decisions about where to buy specific goods may play a part in restructuring local space, but the continuance of the major employer, and thus of the current character of the area, may depend on decisions made by individuals in corporate or government situations in Melbourne, Canberra or Japan to whom local outcomes may not be of paramount importance. The future of individuals and households, and the locality of which they are a part, is shaped by their own actions within the context of global restructuring, and the balance between agency and structure is not merely a theoretical nicety but a matter of quality of life. The prospects for social reproduction in and of the locality depend on the extent to which local action and reaction can maintain or expand local accumulation, but this has to be within the wider structural context. Pre-emptive action by fractions of capital or community factions could change this context and lead to fundamental marginalising changes in the nature of social space and

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[1] pers. comm.1991

human activity in the area. The following chapters make a contribution to the discussion of these themes and towards the development of a 'global sense of place' (Massey 1991a: 28; 1991b: 280).

Structure of the thesis

In order to investigate individual labour market experience and household strategies, and so to provide an interpretation of structure-agency interactions seen in Spring Bay, it is necessary to access theory on uneven development, labour markets, informal activities and rural responses to economic restructuring. This is done within a neomarxist framework by a realist approach which provides a theoretical link with both quantitative and qualitative empirical research. The chapter organisation reflects this approach.

In Ch. 1, a case is made for the unavoidability of an explicit theoretical approach, through a critical review of philosophical and theoretical developments in economic geography in recent years and some analysis of concepts of place and space. A discussion of the advantages of a broad marxist approach over earlier positivist methods sets the scene for an analysis of the debate over realism and locality studies. The issues of levels of abstraction, eclecticism and essentialism, contextualism and overdetermination are briefly examined in relation to realism, and the advantages of a realist approach to the combination of theory and empirics of the thesis topic are set out. The spatial setting for the research is then introduced.

Ch. 2 consists of a review of several bodies of literature which examine specific aspects of restructuring. Early uneven development literature, including the core/periphery school, is briefly reviewed as a preliminary to examining the restructuring approach. The labour market literature, within which the clear dichotomy between positivist and radical economists is beginning to become more blurred, provides a theoretical background to the effects of restructuring both of the economic system and at workplace level, particularly with regard to flexibility. The informal activities literature, while obviously vital to the thesis, is shown to be so heterogeneous as to require a definitive statement in the form of a model of proposed terminology for use in the thesis. Recent scholarship in rural sociology offers interesting possibilities in relation to pluriactivity and to more general concepts of structured coherence in the light of the French regulationist school. In relation to work on gender in rural sociology, the gender stance of the thesis is discussed. Each of the literatures is examined to select and interpret theory relevant to this thesis.

In Ch. 3 an examination is made of recent economic restructuring in Tasmania. This includes an assessment of the post-war long boom in its local manifestation of hydro-industrialisation and its effect on the labour force: employment equation. The characteristics of the regional and local labour markets are discussed, together with

detail of recent local restructuring and its employment effects. The national and international changes which are forcing the recomposition of local labour force involvement form the final part of the chapter.

In Ch. 4, a brief review of methodological issues in theory precedes a discussion of the methodology, and its relation both to theory and practicalities, chosen for investigating individual labour market experience and varying responses to economic change at a household level. The details of the sample drawn from the electoral roll, and of the guided interview survey carried out in 1991 are provided in Appendix A. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the survey and some of the issues raised by it, including different methods of narrative.

Chs. 5 and 6 are concerned with the principal statistical findings from the Spring Bay survey. Ch. 5 deals with individual labour market experience, and is organised on the basis of those employed by the dominant employer, those in small businesses, State employees and those not in the labour force. Ch. 6 consists of an analysis of household strategies including employment decisions, routine domestic tasks, self-provisioning and self-servicing, and voluntary activities, together with perceptions of these coping strategies.

In Ch. 7 there are two themes, reconsideration of classifications and the nature of small businesses in non-metropolitan areas. In the first, household strategies and individual labour market experience are examined in relation to the efficacy of existing theorisation, and the way in which knowledge is constructed by categorisation and the restrictive nature of some definitions and dualisms are discussed. A development from a traditional model of the social relations of employment is put forward, and the way that this relates to small businesses in the study area and to pluriactivity is examined. In Ch. 8 the context of the wider structure of capitalist society is addressed, of the local construction of place through various aspects of decision making, and of the contested place of some enterprises within fractions of capital.

In Ch. 9 the continuing changes of the late twentieth century in theory and the real world are related to the concept of a global sense of place. This is done through interleaved reflections on relations which find contingent expression in Spring Bay: on the gendered experience of everyday life; on whose view of reality will prevail, both in relation to perceptions of rurality and in the broader debate between growthists and conservationists; and on the nature of intentional activity by human beings. Together these lead to a concluding statement of a view of economic geography towards the end of the twentieth century.

The first chapter, then, is concerned with the philosophical and theoretical turmoil which has existed in social sciences in general and economic geography in particular in recent years, and the need to clarify a theoretical position from the start.

CHAPTER 1 THE NEED FOR THEORY AND THEORIES OF PLACE AND SPACE

Discussion of philosophy, theory, conceptualisation and methodology at a variety of levels is necessary in any research project, and particularly at the beginning of the 1990s, at the end of more than a decade of theoretical preoccupation in human geography. A school of thought does exist, sometimes labelled 'atheoretical empiricism', which advocates a 'let's take a look in this area and see what we find' approach (provocatively discussed in Gould 1988). This apparently naïve view is not in reality atheoretical but is simply premised on implicit rather than explicit epistemology and ontology. Assumptions about the nature of reality and the possibility of theoretically neutral observation lie behind statements of intent such as 'describing the earth's surface and trying to make sense of it' (Lewis 1985: 471 quoted in Pudup 1988: 372). The idea that observation can precede interpretation has its origins in the event-ontology of Humean empiricism and its assertion that all ideas are copied or developed from sense impressions; this takes little account either of the variety of possible ways of seeing, of the values entailed in deciding what to observe, of the prior social construction of the observed phenomena or of the ontological status of the unobservable theoretical entities that nevertheless occur in scientific discourse (Berger 1972). In a section entitled 'The Unavoidability of Epistemology' Rosenberg (1988) asserts that the dispute about whether the goal of social science should be an improvement in predictive powers or increasing understanding of causes is fundamentally a disagreement about the nature, extent and justification of claims to knowledge. Social scientists take sides in this dispute, implicitly or explicitly. Empirical analysis is never theory neutral, and according to Sayer (1989a) the only sense in which it can be empiricist is in failing to be aware of this fact. Explicit conceptualisation is therefore clearly required at the start of any research enquiry.

1.1 Historical review

Over the hundred years in which it has existed as a university discipline, modern geography has been concerned in a search for a philosophical basis. Some of the resulting arguments are peculiar to geography while some are shared with other physical and social sciences. Early emphasis on the subject's synthetic role, allegedly bridging the gap between sciences and the humanities (Mackinder 1930), was replaced by the dichotomies of physical and human geography, and of systematic and regional geography, followed by the development of other 'adjectival' geographies in an attempt to achieve legitimacy and status through specialisation (Coones and Stoddart 1989: 18).

Behind this fragmentation lies a series of fundamental questions about the nature and possible perceptions of space. Early geographers imbued with a strong sense of place debated the question of the ideographic versus the nomothetic approach. Since each

place, at whatever scale place is envisaged, is without doubt unique, the question is whether it is possible to make valid generalisations about a series of places; and following from that, which is of greater importance, the uniqueness and the elements which constitute it or the abstractions which may be drawn from similarities (Hartshorne 1939, 1959). The scale of the places or regions investigated, the relative status of large and small areas as objects of study, and the ways in which regions may be linked, possibly in hierarchies, are matters of continuing debate today which stem from the ideographic/nomothetic question.

1.1.1 Positivist approaches

In the 1960s and early 1970s, this debate was superseded by questions raised by the development of quantitative geography, coinciding with the increasing power and availability of computing facilities, with emphasis on the methodology of the positivist approach. Leaders in the field justified the theoretical position of geography as a spatial science by reference to the positivist school of the Vienna Circle, principally represented in the English speaking world by Ayer, and later to hypothetico-deductivism of philosophers of science such as Popper and Kuhn (Chorley and Haggett 1967; Harvey 1969; Guelke 1971, 1977). Many lesser practitioners, however, were satisfied to measure and record observable phenomena, and process data by complex methods. They sought statistical generalisations and geometrical and other mathematical forms of modelling which might enable predictions to be made and be given the status of laws, and thus enhance the status of geography as a science. Early resistance to, and later dissatisfaction with the outcomes of, the quantitative revolution, and the existence throughout of determined non-quantitative geographers led to increased questioning of the normative theoretical underpinning of quantitative methodology. This criticism was extended to the positivist school of thought so clearly represented in neo-classical economics.

The positivist, neo-classical influence in economic and social geography has been questioned on several grounds. Recognition of the importance of information in decision-making in the real world has led to dissatisfaction with the concept of 'rational economic man', informed and acting rationally on equal information in a free and equal marketplace to maximise individual gain. Equilibrium theory has been under attack by radical economists who find greater difficulty in accepting the theory because of growing awareness of increasing inequalities in the real world. The atomistic concept of society as simply a sum of individuals, with no historical experience, no social or political development, no classes or fundamental internal conflict and no causal powers is increasingly seen as an inadequate basis for understanding the modern world. The necessity of the idea of *ceteris paribus* in virtually all analysis is increasingly viewed as a method which may provide a useful tool in physical and biological sciences but may be less fruitful in handling the variety of interdependent actors and structures in the open systems of social sciences. Above all, the implicit conceptualisation of space embodied in

neo-classical economics (often as part of the *ceteris paribus* approach) and in much quantitative geography, as the arena in which economic and social activity occurs, rather than an integral part of the economic and social process, has been criticised and re-evaluated. Smith sums up these criticisms:

> Demanding a rigorous dichotomy between fact and value, theory and practice, and the pure and the applied, positivism encourages narrowly specialized internal research rather than heterodox prying into the affairs of the outside world (Smith N 1979: 358).

This questioning coincided with fundamental changes in the global economy, seen by some as the crisis of monopoly capitalism. Governments attempted, through such means as deregulation, privatisation and other fiscal and monetary policies, to come to terms with inflation, instability and high levels of unemployment. Rapid developments in the convergent technologies of computing and telecommunications led to significant changes in the service sector and increased the speed at which international financial transactions could take place. There was an increase both in environmental problems and in the awareness of these problems and their implications. Social, economic and political change thus contributed to redefining the set of problems (Hay 1988). The doubts expressed about the ability of a positivist epistemology adequately to explain the new world scene (expressed, for example, in Logan and Missen 1971; Harvey 1973; Fine 1979; Sayer 1984; Wilde and Fagan 1988) have led to great theoretical turmoil, particularly in human geography, illustrated, for example, in the series of papers in 'Reconsidering social theory: a debate' in *Environment and Planning A* (1987). Partly because of the abilities and interests of particular groups of thinkers and researchers, this preoccupation with conceptual underpinning has been especially strong in economic geography, and is epitomised in Gregory and Urry (1985).

1.1.2 Neomarxist approaches

During the 1970s there was a growth of interest among geographers in marxist theory. Certain problems arise in discussing marxism because of those both within and outside marxism who do not distinguish between marxism as an intellectual tool for understanding western capitalism (usually referred to as neomarxism) and the entire ideological/philosophical/political package of marxism itself. Other problems result from those outside marxism who tend to see it as a monolithic unchanging structure, unaware of the developments in thought among eclectic neomarxists. There is also a confusing tendency to try to differentiate among Marxist, Marxian, marxist and marxian. As there is no consistent agreement on usage, in this thesis Marx (the person), marxism and marxist are the only terms used except for the prefixes detailed above. It is not possible to review current marxist and neomarxist positions in detail, but an overview is given of a view which has potential for explanation within economic geography.

Corbridge (1989) provides an overview of the neo/postmarxist approach, linking it to traditional marxism in three areas: a materialist ontology with a commitment to causal analysis and a concept of economic determination; an emphasis on inequalities in the distribution of assets and power, and on contradictions in the process of capital accumulation; and an acceptance of Marx's dictum that people make history, but not under circumstances of their own choosing. He also identifies five departures from traditional marxism:

> an opposition to the assertion that marxist concepts are epistemologically privileged and/or incommensurate with concepts in non-marxist traditions of social science, and thus a commitment to the careful combining of concepts from both areas;
>
> an opposition to the concept of the necessary primacy of the economy, on epistemological rather than empirical grounds;
>
> a certain scepticism over the labour theory of value, preferring a general theory of exploitation and class;
>
> a decreased commitment to the idea of revolution; and more tenuously,
>
> a feeling towards a general theory of power, deriving amongst others from marxism and feminism, in place of functionalist accounts of power, the state and civil society (Corbridge 1989: 246-247).

This overall stance has obvious implications in economic geography, both in spatial terms and in the choice of topics for study. It is the underlying philosophy of this thesis, although the question of ontology requires further comment which will be made later under realism. Much of the recent development of marxist thought in economic geography has been allied to the development of realism. Indeed it has been asserted that

> ... an epistemological home for marxist science, with its emphasis on the non-correspondence between theoretical categories and the empirical world they explain, and on laws as tendencies rather than empirical realities, has been found in realism (Chouinard *et al.* 1984: 356).

It is frequently stated that a realist approach does not necessarily imply a marxist background but in fact it is difficult in geography to find a realist writer who does not subscribe to some degree of marxism. Realism is seen as neither incompatible with marxism nor as a disguise for it but rather as a framework within which to work. In terms of geography, the discussion has two main strands, theoretical and applied; since, however, much of the argument and criticism has to do with space, locality and uniqueness, it is difficult completely to separate out discussion of realism *per se* and of the locality approach.

1.2 Realism and locality

Realism, owing much to the work of Bhaskar (1975, 1979, 1989), is a philosophy of science which grounds theory and explanation in the discovery of necessary relations (concepts

that mutually presuppose one another) and in the examination of the relations between the actual and the possible. It breaks with the common Humean assumption of the association between laws and causation and regularities among events, found only in closed systems. Its increasing influence as a foundation for research in social sciences lies in its potential for providing a theoretical link between empirical research and abstract knowledge. It does not, however, aim to reduce the complexity of the social world to general concepts; it is concerned with relationships within a specific historical and spatial context (Allen 1983). This has led to some emphasis, particularly in Britain, on intensive research projects in small areas, referred to as the locality approach, and the theoretical justification of them, referred to as the locality debate. This approach, and some of the debate surrounding it, is dealt with after a discussion of realism in geography and the related issues of overdetermination and contextualism.

1.2.1 Realism as applied to geography

The realist approach in geography is based on four main tenets (Lawson and Staeheli 1990). The first is that the social world is not a closed system, in that the characteristics of objects and the causal processes operating in the system do not remain constant, and are not susceptible of experimental control, particularly as one force cannot be studied in isolation. The second tenet is the existence of unobservable social structures that influence and are influenced by actions of individuals. The third is that these structures and agents in society and the way they tend to act can be identified. The fourth is that the properties of social structures which enable them to produce or undergo particular kinds of change are susceptible of analysis, of

> ... finding out what produces change, what makes things happen, what allows or forces change' (Sayer 1985a: 163, emphasis in original).

This leads to an emphasis on processes rather than patterns, since a single process may result in many outcomes, and similar outcomes may result from different processes. Some of the literature finds the theory interesting as theory but questions the practicalities of the approach (see, for example, Allen 1983; Warde 1985; England *et al.* 1987; Sarre 1987; Beauregard 1988). With the publication, however, of some substantive work in the realist mode (for example, Morgan and Sayer 1988; Warf 1988a; Hudson 1989) attention partly turned to the scale at which realist approaches are best applied so that theoretical issues diverged into the two strands of realism and locality.

Sayer has contributed steadily over the last twelve years to the realist literature both on predominantly theoretical matters (Sayer 1978, 1982, 1984, 1985a, b, c, 1987, 1989a, b, 1991, 1992) and in empirical work utilising and extending the theory (Sayer and Morgan 1985; Sayer 1985b, c, 1986, 1989c; Morgan and Sayer 1988). In a sophisticated discussion of realism in geography (Sayer 1989a and continued in Sayer 1991), he addresses the question of the role of theory in realism and in doing so deals effectively with many of the

criticisms levelled at the locality approach, but without emphasising the term. Theory is no longer associated with generality in the sense of a repeated series of events but with determining the nature of things or structures, with discovering which characteristics are necessary consequences of their being those kinds of objects. A recognition of the two different meanings of general is essential, first as widely replicated instances of seemingly identical events and second as large supralocal but singular phenomena. Generality in the sense of extent of occurrence depends on how common instances of the object are, and upon the circumstances or conditions in which objects exist; together these determine whether the causal powers and liabilities of the objects are activated and with what effect. Theory can thus grasp unique as well as repeated events and is principally concerned with conceptual analysis, which refines the way in which objects are conceptualised, and not with the discovery and description of regularities in empirical events.

Four related concepts which have given rise to criticism because of alleged misunderstanding are identified. First there is confusion of movement from abstract to concrete in thought with geographical movements in reality. It is definitely not being said, for example, that capital forms first in the abstract simply as capital, as a 'general process' somehow separate from any context, at whatever spatial scale, and then interacts with concrete, local, contingently related circumstances. Capital is always constituted from the start in particular places, in open systems. Abstraction identifies the necessary conditions of existence of phenomena, but that is different from showing how actual instances come into being. Thus understanding requires a backward and forward movement between the abstract and the concrete, while keeping clearly in mind the conceptual relation between them.

Second, abstract is not synonymous with supralocal, nor is specific synonymous with local. The nation state or the multinational corporation is not less concrete than the local state or local company. Abstractions can be made from certain aspects of phenomena regardless of whether they are unique or widely replicated.

Third, to say that there is a contingent relationship between certain social phenomena which span many localities and phenomena unique to particular localities is not to imply that the local is nothing but contingencies or that the general (in the sense of supralocal) is the only arena in which necessary relations are found. Local and contingent are not synonyms and to think so involves not only, in Sayer's phrase, that '... the epistemic is ontologised', as in the first confusion discussed above, but also a misunderstanding of necessity and contingency. Because two entities coexist in a contingent form in one locality does not mean that there is nothing necessary about the way that they interact once configured in this way. On the contrary, their interactions follow necessarily from their constitutions and relative deployments. This more subtle exposition of what many critics

have seen as dichotomies goes a long way towards providing an answer to Massey and Allen's (1984) fundamental question:

> ... [w]hat is at issue ... is the articulation of the general with the local (the particular) to produce qualitatively different outcomes in different localities. ... The fundamental methodological question is how to keep a grip on the generality of events, the wider processes lying behind them, without losing sight of the individuality of the form of their occurrence (Massey and Allen 1984: 9).

The epistemological grip is provided by Sayer but not necessarily the methodological one. The fourth confusion is a more general warning of the danger of conceptualising dualisms as if they identified related and mutually exclusive oppositions, a problem spelled out in more detail in Sayer (1989b). In many ways this expressed concern is a revival of the ideographic/ nomothetic debate, which had its origins in a view of the world dominated by a set of dualities such as science/humanities, theory/empiricism, objective/subjective, abstract/concrete, and general/unique. These dualities were conflated to establish two discrete domains of knowledge. Sayer argues that recent scholarship has deconstructed these dualisms, and there is some recognition that a solution may lie in an approach which combines the concept of open systems, the distinction between structures and events, and an awareness that social structures are relatively transient compared to natural structures and that the reproduction of social structures is a contingent product of human agency. Although variety and interdependence exist in lasting and spatially widespread forms in some social structures, in others the forms are more restricted in space and of shorter duration, and therefore a variety of approaches is necessary to understand the wide range of events, structures and relationships.

The importance of the concept of reproduction, of how social structures are reproduced in space and time, is developed in Dunford (1988) in a regulationist framework where space is defined as the context in which social reproduction occurs and by which it is conditioned. As a context it is a material reality providing resources which can be used to meet human needs and whose availability and disposition shape the activity aimed at meeting them. But space is also a social reality in the sense that the use of space is subject to a set of property rights which have a major impact on access to and use of resources. The activity which occurs in space in its turn modifies and transforms space; as a result, space is itself a product of the development of the activities of which the process of social reproduction is composed, as well as of its own past, indirectly via the impact of space on activity and directly via inertia.

This concept of reproduction has been linked explicitly to the concept of territory. Dear and Wolch respond to what they see as a challenge in Scott and Storper's (1986) work to search for a theory of territory or 'humanly differentiated geographical space' (Dear and Wolch 1989: 3); they see their work as distinct in focusing on reproduction and territory,

using the term to encompass the wide range of social relations and social practices which derive from, and serve to protect and maintain, the basic structures of capitalist society. The formation of territorial outcomes is contingent on the unpredictable interactions of the spatial with the economic and the political and social/cultural spheres. It is impossible to predict the exact geographical or social outcome of the interactions between structure, institution and agency. The argument goes on to conceptualise individual activities framed within a particular structural context, but also transforming the context itself, working through the reciprocal relations of long-term structural forces and shorter-term routine practices of individual agents at a variety of spatial scales. Any locale is, therefore, a complex synthesis of objects, patterns and processes derived from the simultaneous interaction of different levels of social process operating at varying geographical scales and chronological stages. Dear and Wolch (1989) comment that it is often not clear in what precise way spatial form is related to social forces (the point made by Massey and Allen 1984). The organisation of space is a vital process in capitalist production and reproduction and cannot be regarded as a separate structure independent of social practice. They recognise three aspects to the subtle and constantly evolving relationship between space and human activity: the aspect in which social relations are constituted through space as for example when opportunities for natural resource exploitation influence production arrangements; that in which social relations are constrained by space, as in the degree to which the physical environment facilitates or hinders human activity, or the inertia imposed by an obsolete built environment; and that in which social relations are mediated by space, as when the general action of the friction of distance facilitates the development of a wide variety of social practices, including the patterns of everyday life.

It is apparent that the complexity of interrelationships involved in these realist interpretations requires further examination, and attention is now turned to the concepts of overdetermination and contextualism. In the last decade, two apparently obvious points, that all things are related in human geography, and that specific situations can only be understood in context, have attracted considerable academic attention. This debate appears to be part of the ongoing reaction to positivist, nomothetic approaches and is part of the broader justification of eclecticism. The intention here is only to draw out a few of the threads in the arguments which impinge on the present study, but to avoid the diffuse and tenuous issues of postmodernism *per se*.

1.2.2 Overdetermination

To say that a theory is an overdetermined process in society is to say that its existence, including all its properties or qualities, is determined by each and every other process constituting that society (Resnick and Wolff 1987,). An anti-essential marxist theory rejects any kind of determinist argument such as the economic determinism embodied in traditional marxism and affirms that particular aspects of any complex topic it treats are not the essences or essential causes of that topic. How this compares with the realist view

of necessity and contingency is discussed later. To theorise society as a totality of overdetermined processes without any determining essence(s) implies the question of how any sense can be made of this totality. There is a need for an entry point, a particular concept which is used to enter into this totality of interrelationships; for instance, Resnick and Wolff approach epistemology from the entry point of overdetermination and social theory from the entry point of class, but this is not to imply that class or overdetermination is being privileged as essential, as neither is viewed as having any greater social determinancy than any other process.

Another marxist view (Lovering 1989a), which seeks to sort out the links between postmodernism, marxism and local research, joins Graham (1988, 1990) in advocating an alternative marxism which rejects the tendency to reduce every phenomenon to an expression of a central essence of capitalism. It sees overdetermination as attempting to come to terms with the idea that not all things in society can be reduced in any simple way to the capitalist structure of production but are the result of multiple determinations. An ensuing debate turned more to the ability of marxism to 'survive the renewed and open contestation within it' (Resnick and Wolff 1992: 139; Peet 1992; Graham 1992). If, however, overdetermination is taken to its logical conclusion, abstract generalisations, logical deductions, concrete facts, specific observations, global and local effects, agents and structures all participate in overdetermining each other; necessity and contingency dissolve into each other as no relation among constituting processes is more necessary than any other, and the concept of levels of abstraction lacks justification (Graham and St Martin 1990). This putative melting away of dualisms can be regarded as liberating, but an alternative view would be to accept the sensitising of the overdetermination argument without falling into essentialism.

1.2.3 Contextualism

Multiple determinations are likely to vary in space and time, differing with context. The term contextualism became prominent in the early 1980s. Thrift (1983a, b) writes of social theory beginning to tackle the contextual dimension of 'people practising in place' (Thrift 1983a: 371) through which social structure must be produced and reproduced, and the elements of conflict in the constitution of subjectivity. Three assumptions are identified in the model of complex behaviour arising out of the interrelated behaviour of simpler theoretical objects operating at higher levels of abstraction, which lead to social systems being explained as the result of the unfolding of interlinked laws or tendencies. The first is the assumption that society is an ordered whole underlying which structural principles can be found; contextually sensitive social theory sees societies as contingently structured in conflict, with social groups of differing power reacting through internal organisation laid out over space and in time to other groups' abilities to penetrate and undermine this organisation, and reacting also to external events. The second is that the specific is only interesting as an example of more general laws and tendencies; contextually sensitive

social theory is more interested in difference and variation for its own sake, because specific features can act as generators of different kinds of organisations of social action that are differentially effective. The third contested assumption is that space and time are parameters rather than operators, the stage rather than the action. Contextually sensitive social theory sees space and time both as parameters, but ones which continually change, and as operators, as resources intimately involved in the construction of social action at a number of scales. Thrift suggests that as the result of this model and of concentration on higher levels of abstraction we are in the strange situation that we know more about why changes are happening than how they are occurring; he cites the New International Division of Labour, where the problem is in part the lack of coherent conceptualisation of multinational corporations as social agencies as well as agents of capital.

This, however, is a somewhat specific view of contextualism. Gregory suggested three types of meaning for the term theory: first, theory as generalisation, 'searching the empirical field with experimental rigs and drilling bore-holes ... to test hypotheses about it' (Gregory 1985: 387); second, theory as abstraction, 'dissecting the multiple layers of the world by the scrupulous use of conceptual scalpels and a broadly realist knowledge of anatomy to tease out its connective tissue' - a view he ascribes to Sayer (1984); and third, theory as contextualisation, as a movement back and forth between texts and contexts, aware of the reciprocity between theoretical constructs and empirical data and seeking a creative interaction of the sort seen in Geertz's interpretative anthropology (see, for example, Geertz 1988). Contextualisation in the latter views accentuates the importance of the local and the contingent.

The need for a more ethnographic approach is taken up by Sayer in a discussion of how far or at what depth social structures and processes are context-dependent. Are they only modified in minor ways by differences in context or are they so deeply influenced that social theory cannot usefully abstract from any geohistorical context? The problem of the relative autonomy of consciousness, that people can interpret the same situation differently, is advanced as the major problem of social science. The danger of combining sophisticated theories of an academic's own knowledge with crude behaviourist assumptions in regard to people being studied is raised, and it is argued that since consciousness is formed out of pre-existing cognitive and cultural materials a more ethnographic approach is needed (Sayer 1989a).

Barnes takes the discussion into the broader philosophical sphere of essentialist and contextual forms of explanation:

> Contextualism, by recognizing and celebrating difference, provides economic geographers with a charter for treating places as places; it insists that texture and specificity of place be maintained and not reduced to something less than it is ... essentialism contends that to know the world one must make reference to

> unchanging and universal entities, essences ... [which] leads to an emaciated view of place: one in which place is only the surface appearance of the more fundamental essence lying beneath (Barnes 1989a: 299).

Realism's position in the essentialist/contextualist debate is problematic. The realist position combines elements of both: it is essentialist in holding to the existence of a set of necessary structures that mirrors the world; and it is contextualist in viewing the causal powers associated with such structures as only being realised in particular contexts. Sayer (1984) had denied that his position contains contradictory elements of essentialism as theories do not mirror the world but are simply 'practically adequate', a concept discussed by England *et al.* (1987). In the 1989a paper, however, doubts are raised again by his statement that durable pervasive structures, which are thus to a certain extent context-independent, once empirically discovered, can therefore be theorised independently of further empirical research. He invokes overdetermination, suggesting that even where these more durable structures are involved, social theory can rarely be applied without supplementary theory-laden empirical information, because action is invariably co-determined by other structures and conditions. Perhaps the most interesting suggestion is that contextualising and law-seeking approaches should therefore be seen not as competing but as extremes of a continuum ranging across different kinds of object. In particular, it is in the middle of this continuum, where a structure is in the process of changing, that close relations between concrete and abstract approaches are vital, and so it should be expected that empirical research in such areas of social science will be theoretically informative as well as theoretically informed.

The link between concrete and context is also problematic. Realist concrete study is an attempt to construct theoretically informed and informative narratives which 'make their aetiologies explicit and give due weight to the synchronic or configurational and the episodic' (Sayer 1989a: 226). This is an attempt to apply and synthesise a range of social theories, each one relating to different aspects of the concrete. Some of the processes studied will be highly context-dependent, others will not; there should be no presumption in favour of either, or in favour of the kinds of explanation which suit either nomological or contextualising approaches. Deciding on the balance must be an *a posteriori* matter reflecting the nature of the situation under study and the questions asked about it.

1.2.4 The locality debate

Much of the criticism and questioning of realism has been directed more specifically at locality studies with which it has become closely, though not exclusively, associated. The modern concept of locality arose in the mid-1980s, although some critics have suggested that it is simply a return to the ideographic approaches of early geographers such as Vidal de la Blache. The idea of locality developed as a reaction to over-abstract accounts of social forms which appeared to give no place to spatial variation or to human agency's role in creating this variation (Duncan 1989). It gained influence because it suggested generality at the same time as it signified specificity (Duncan 1989), a dubious attribute

which later came under attack. At a commonsense level, since most people live their daily lives in spatially restricted areas, it seems appropriate to focus at this scale when studying people's actions. In the early 1980s, the work of Massey in conceptualising regional change formed one of the bases of the locality approach. She pointed to uneven spatial development in Britain and argued that the social and spatial structure of local areas can be identified on the basis of their role or comparative advantage within the national and international divisions of labour, and the differing layers of investment 'sedimented' one on top of another, each affecting and being affected by the others (Massey 1984: 117-118). At about the same time Urry was maintaining that research into economic and social change should be at the local scale because of the increasing influence of local labour markets (Urry 1981a), a view supported by Cooke (1983).

Two general areas of interest may be identified within early locality approaches, the local results of global restructuring and the possible local causes of political actions. The term locality has, however, been used in so many ways, some overlapping and some contradictory, (Urry 1987: 442-443), from an abstracted social process to precise statistical areas, that it is necessary to point out at the start that what is important is the discussion about the use and conceptualisation of specific areas in research, and not semantic points.

Not all approaches concentrating on the concept of local are realist. In the structuration approach the 'locale' is seen as the setting for routine social practices, the bases for social integration linking routine integration processes to systemic structures of society in some metaphysical way (Giddens 1984). How this occurs, however, is not satisfactorily explained and therefore the locale emerges as a passive setting with a spatial scale which may vary from the living room to the nation state. Hägerstrand's 'life paths in time-space' is a useful method of describing how daily life unfolds in space and time, but says nothing about how stations (places where certain activities like work or shopping occur) and domains (where certain social interactions take place) are produced, or why the friction of distance (measured in time or cost taken to overcome it) varies in the way it does. It also leaves aside the question of how and why certain spatial systems and social relations such as factory production become dominant (Hägerstrand 1970, 1973; Gregory 1985, 1989; Harvey 1989).

Realist locality studies attempt to situate people in the space-time settings of everyday life and hence try initially to grasp their circumstances concretely instead of abstractly. Cochrane (1987), Warf (1989), Jonas (1988) and Pudup (1988) provide comprehensive reviews of the then literature on locality studies, but significant theoretical advances have been made since. There has been considerable debate on the definition of locality, how boundaries can be drawn round a locality and how localities of varying sizes can represent broader social and spatial change (see for example Urry 1981a; Shapiro 1985; Savage *et al* 1987; Warf 1989). At the end of a decade of discussion, there is still doubt

about the fruitfulness of the debate, which became involved in metaphysical speculations about localities as material entities with causal powers in their own right. In 1985, published in 1986, Duncan made the assertion that locality

> ... is an infuriating idea. It is one that seems to signify something important, and indeed most people seem to know - roughly - what it signifies for them. Yet few would care to explain what "locality" (or is it "a locality" or even "the locality"?) actually is (Duncan 1986: 2).

By 1990, after a prolonged disagreement with Cooke (1989a, b, 1990) Duncan and Savage had moved to the position of proposing that the need for locality as a conceptual gap filler has largely been removed, as the role of spatial variation is now better understood, partly as the result of the wide-ranging arguments in the locality debate. The need they see now is to develop intermediate concepts to organise knowledge about how spatial variations work in practice. They cite spatial and other divisions of labour as possibilities, and suggest considering how they combine to produce locally specific effects 'without the mystification of locality' (Duncan and Savage 1989: 202-3). There are, however, some positive outcomes of the locality debate which must not be abandoned because the main direction of thought ended in some confusion.

1.2.5 Positive outcomes of the locality debate

Arguments about the role and powers of space were clarified, progress was made on the issue of levels of abstraction, and the ways in which locality approaches resemble case studies were discussed.

The role and powers of space

Discussion of the role and powers of space was based on an attempt to reconcile the views that spatial variations matter but space itself does nothing, and argument centred around the 'difference that space makes' (Sayer 1985: 49). In the context of this thesis, this is a crucial point since it is an integral part of the argument about what valid use can be made of small study areas. Urry (1981b) takes the position that space itself has no general effect, and has no autonomous powers. Rather space only has effect because social objects possess particular characteristics, namely different causal powers. Such powers may or may not be apparent in empirical events, and whether they are or not depends on the relation in time-space established with other objects. Sayer (1985b), also rejecting the absolute concept of space in favour of the relative one, argued that the concept of space only makes sense if it is understood as constituted by objects, but not as reducible to them. It is independent of the types of objects present and involves only the relations between them; space is thus constituted by the spatial relations of matter, and makes a difference only in the terms of the particular causal powers and liabilities constituting it.

In the realist locality approach of the Sussex Programme in Britain, there is the assumption that space makes a difference and that the character and location of both

natural and already existing built environments can not be explained in purely social terms. Interaction between natural resources and social processes such as capitalism may give rise to spatial variations in development, the outcome being contingent on the resource having a market or social value. There is thus a local secondary effect of interaction between supralocal causes and contingencies, which over time combine to give distinctive identity to the site where they are found, with their own generative powers, in, for example, the local labour market (Savage *et al.* 1987). Duncan (1986) concludes that a misleading aspect of the locality debate is that space itself is assigned causal power. He asserts later that the locality school seems to indicate that spatial variations make a difference to how social relations work but without saying how or why.

Levels of abstraction

The value of the recognition and adoption of the concept of levels of abstraction has been demonstrated by Horvath and Gibson (1984) in their seminal work on levels of abstraction in Marx's method. Some of the threads in the locality debate on the issue of abstract and concrete thinking can be drawn together. At each level of abstraction necessary relations can be identified which at lower levels incorporate more geographical and historical variability and contingency. The principal concepts are shown in Table 1.1 overleaf.

These processes of abstraction have an effect on conceptions of the spatiality or aspatiality of social processes. Supposedly general social processes, such as capital accumulation or deindustrialisation, are commonly but incorrectly seen as aspatial. This arises because the social processes are abstracted from the innumerable places in the real world in which they were constituted. In recognising that general processes are constituted spatially, the question arises of how far causation is constituted locally. Duncan and Goodwin (1989) suggest that it is necessary to distinguish between contingent local effects (the contingent effects of spatial patterns) and causal local effects (the specific expression of local social relations). This distinction helps to avoid both the logical difficulties involved in general processes being an abstraction, and conflating that abstraction with what actually happens in reality.

Table 1.1 Levels of abstraction

Name	Concept
Marx	mode of production
Horvath and Gibson	sub-mode of production, social formation
Regulationist School	regimes of accumulation, modes of regulation
Storper and Scott	intermediate concepts of forms of industrial organisation and technology e.g. internal labour markets
Cox and Mair	local dependence, local coalition events in specific places

Source: Cox and Mair (1989: 123-124)

Table 1.2 Types of case studies

Type	Direct demonstration	Inference
Confined to case	A	C
Not confined to case	B	D

Source: Platt (1988: 10) and Warde (1990: 275)

Reconsidering case studies as a substitute for the locality approach

Warde (1989) has drawn attention to a discussion by Platt (1988) in which a distinction is made between different functions that case studies may fulfill. She distinguishes between those that are confined to the particular case(s) studied, and those intended to demonstrate a point directly or to provide a basis for inference. The resulting four basic types are shown in Table 1.2.

Ideographic studies concerned with the specific directly observable features of the single case are represented by A. Type C represents the use of case studies 'for inference to other aspects of the particular case' (Platt 1988: 10) including predictions of future developments. This type appears to be what Cooke had in mind when advocating case studies as 'assisting understanding of the constitution of "locality" as new and different cases are added' (Cooke 1987: 77). Realism, however, as advocated by Sayer (1989a) is concerned with type D where case(s) are studied with the object of providing 'a basis for inference to points not directly demonstrated and with relevance to cases not studied' (Platt 1988: 12). It is possible to envisage an area as the case study, within which individuals or households can be approached either quantitatively or qualitatively.

1.3 Implications for this study

The emphasis in the preceding discussion is the unavoidability of an explicit theoretical approach at all levels. Concern has been expressed that realist studies may involve a retreat from theory and generality into uniqueness (Smith N 1987; Cochrane 1987). Two points arise from this concern: the first is that this alleged retreat from theory is only possible if the possibility of theory-neutral research is allowed; the second is a rejection of the implication that the unique is inaccessible to theory. There is no reason to believe that internal necessary relations are less common at the local scale than at any other, and therefore although the move from the abstract to the concrete in thought involves empirical questions about contingencies, empirical research also includes the discovery and examination of internal relations, and so can be theory-informing (Sayer 1989a).

Within a general context of eclectic, anti-essentialist approaches which acknowledge overdetermination, neomarxism offers the most insights into contemporary economic restructuring, and its non-equilibrium stance gives a basis for understanding spatial

variation in economic development. The concept of the social relations of production, of relations between employers and employees, offers an entry point into what is going on at all spatial levels and not just the local in the current crisis of capital. The concepts of reproduction and the reserve army of labour potentially offer some explanation for the basis of the gender division of labour, which has so much effect on the participation of women in production, and which is in turn linked with household strategies for adapting as economic conditions and job situations change. To say, however, that neomarxist theory is potentially helpful is not to rule out the possibility of non-materialist aspects of employment decisions.

The mystifications of the locality debate appear to be an unnecessary complication, since the means of articulating theory at various levels with empirical facts which impinge on individual experience in a study area exist in the realist approach. There are several literatures embodying theoretical discussion of economic restructuring and its effects. In concrete terms, there is a hierarchy of events and situations. These events and situations range from local to global in scale. Some are the result largely of individual decisions about, or concurrence with, a situation, however constrained by context, while in others social, economic and political structures dominate. Changes in tax or welfare payments, in home loan interest rates or world commodity prices are no less concrete for having been brought about by organisations at a distance from the individuals affected.

So it is possible to conceptualise change in terms of possible events related to preliminary theorisation. At the level of individuals, these events may include losing, changing or returning to employment under various circumstances and changes in working hours, skills and job organisation. At a household level change may involve ways of coping with alterations in working hours, or more or fewer family members in paid employment. This may include alterations to who does what jobs within the home; changing strategies for the care of children, the elderly, sick and disabled; and ways of surviving on a pension or the dole. Changing events in work places may include the closing of some enterprises and the opening of others, with consequences for jobs, the reorganisation of production, investment in new technology or disinvestment and cutting back on production and jobs, and changes in staffing structure. Changes related to state activities at a local level may involve the state as a provider of services making alterations in the level of provision of, for example, education, library and health facilities, and the state as an employer cutting down on jobs in some sectors and places creating jobs in others, perhaps making increased use of consultants, contractors and volunteers. At a national state level, change involves such areas as taxation, interest rates, welfare payments and eligibility, tariffs and environmental and resource legislation. At a supra national level, in both political and economic terms, concrete changes can still be identified. The reorganisation of political

communications; deregulation of international finance including currency rates; the closure of plants in some areas and the opening of new, more efficient ones in others perhaps with more favourable labour conditions; and changes in world commodity prices: all are part of the restructuring process which have effects at other levels of society and economy.

The relations between these series of possible concrete manifestations of change are problematic. Some can be identified as necessary; for example employer and employee is a necessary relation within paid employment in contemporary capitalism but the precise nature of that relation, and the circumstances in which the relation may undergo change will differ according to time and place. It would be possible to examine these changes by either an extensive or an intensive methodology, and the choice of an appropriate study area would be linked to the chosen methodology (see Sayer 1992: 243). At a more specific level, the relation between an increase in the number of married women in employment and provision for the care of children, the elderly, sick and disabled is a necessary one. The nature of the resulting changes, however, is contingent and will vary with specific local conditions as to whether the provision is state, private paid, voluntary communal, or through a family network. Some of the relations will be purely contingent, but some relations, originally contingent, may then have necessary consequences. So research into the occurrence or not of possible concrete social and economic phenomena in a specific area and an attempt to analyse necessary and contingent relations between them is another stage of a possible realist approach. Regularities and generalities will be important but so will anomalies and the unique.

It is also possible to examine both the literature and the manifestations in the study area to try to identify processes, theoretical structures and causal mechanisms at a more abstract level but still maintaining a relational ontology and the concepts of necessary and contingent relations (see Table 1.3). It is possible to envisage ascending levels of abstraction from concepts such as the gender division of labour, informal economic activities, pluriactivity (see p 77) and the labour market, to levels of abstraction such as patriarchy, flexibility, the spatial division of labour and the types of reorganisation of

Table 1.3 Steps involved in a realist approach

1. Preliminary theorising and identification of possible concrete situations/processes to be found in any area.
2. Survey of specific appropriate area to discover which of the possibilities identified in 1. exist in that area.
3. Further analysis of necessary and contingent relations at this concrete level.
4. Further examination of both theories and data from study area to identify theoretical structures and processes.
5. Critique of original literature.

production, all informed by encompassing theories such as the social relations of production and reproduction and capital accumulation. It is at this point that a critique moving backwards and forwards between theory and empirical facts can lead to the concrete informing theory and theory informing the interpretation of the concrete, to the better understanding of both.

1.4 The place in question: the study area

The problem of where in the thesis to introduce the chosen study area in more detail is not simply one of arrangement and ease of reference but more of symbolism. A discussion of philosophy and theory, followed by a literature review, local context and methodology could lead on to the study area in a logical progression but could also be seen to privilege the theoretical and general over the concrete and specific. The study area is therefore deliberately introduced here to underline the point made earlier that the relations between empirics and theory are of concern.

An appropriate study area has to fulfill certain requirements, some theoretical and some pragmatic. The four principal characteristics sought are:

1. a self-contained area where the labour market is as near as possible to a theoretical 'local labour market' (see Ch. 2), with as few people as possible working outside the area;
2. an area in which different fractions of capital are engaged in different forms of production;
3. a small population for an intensive study, so that a sample of the order of one in twenty is feasible; and
4. an area for which secondary employment data for the past are available.

In addition, a methodology involving interviewing 100 rural and small town individuals (see Ch. 4) at some distance from Hobart requires a substantial period to complete, so that travel and/or accommodation must be considered. Tasmania, with its branch plant economy, offers a choice of corporate capital principally in mining, food processing and forest resources, and the final choice between a west coast mining area and an east coast area with forest resource and fish processing was made on the basis of the greater extent of other activities in the east. Accommodation was available in both areas, but travel seemed likely to be less in the east. The Spring Bay municipality fulfills the majority of the above requirements, and is briefly described next.

The Spring Bay municipality is an area approximately 45 by 30 kilometres on the east coast of Tasmania and includes the adjacent Maria Island, now a national park, about ten kilometres offshore (Figures 0.1 and 1.1). Except for Maria Island, which has more geological variety, the area is made up of two broad rock types: Jurassic dolerite forms

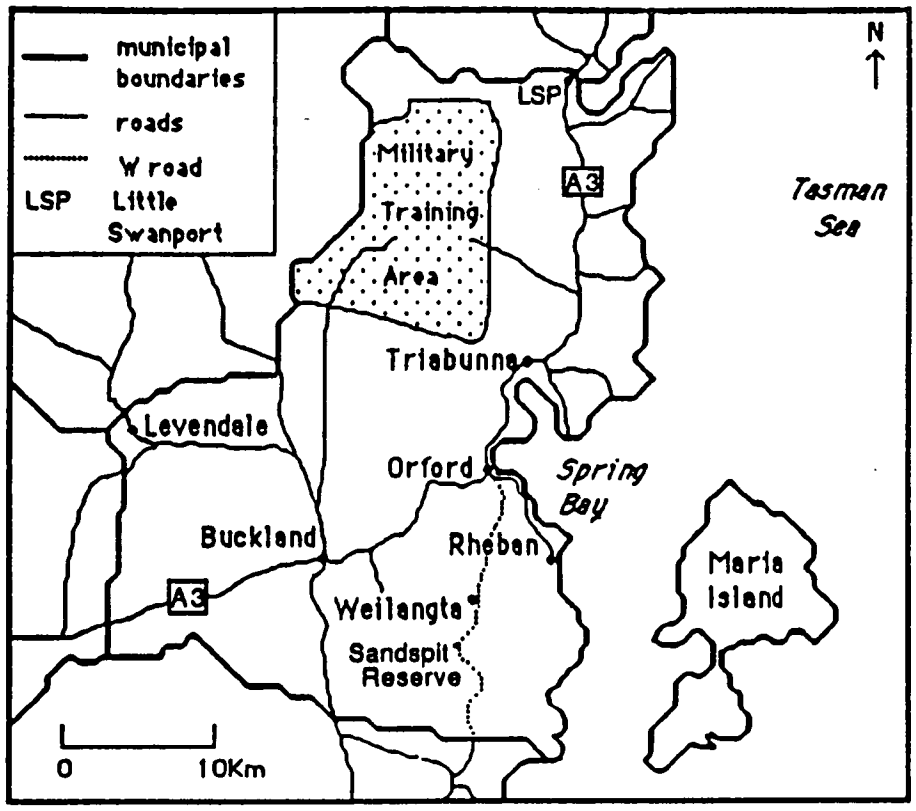


Fig. 1.1 Spring Bay Municipality

hill country, to a height of 600 metres in places, north to south down the centre of the area with occasional extensions to the coast; and a series of Permian sandstones, siltstones and mudstones forms lower land roughly down the coast from Little Swanport almost to Rheban, with a further basin inland from just south of Buckland to Levendale. Most of the lower area has been cleared for grazing, and the uplands are covered with dry sclerophyll eucalypt forest; apart from the Buckland Military Training Area, much of the upland area is state forest, administered by the Forestry Commission but logged by contractors for Associated Pulp and Paper Mills (APPM) under the Tasmanian Pulp and Forest Holdings' concession (see Figure 5.3). European agricultural settlement was early, with some properties dating from the 1820s (Nyman 1990). The population of the municipality was 2 081 at the time of the 1991 census (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1992a), and modern settlement, sparse in the grazing and forest areas, is dominated by the two towns, Triabunna and Orford. Triabunna is the site of an export woodchip mill (now owned by North Broken Hill Peko (NBHP) through its subsidiary APPM), saw milling, fish processing, light engineering, aquaculture and some tourism. Orford is an area of holiday homes, with some tourism, and is favoured for retirement partly because of the area's dry, sunny climate. The area is as self-contained as is likely to be found, with virtually empty

Table 1.4 Aspects of employment in Spring Bay 1971-1986

	Population growth % 1971-1986	Employment growth % 1971-1986	Female employment % mid 1989	Self-employment % mid 1989	Government employment % Mid 1989
Tasmania	14.4	16.1	38.5	13.3	29.3
Spring Bay	39.5	42.4	33.6	17.8	18.1

Source: Tasmania, Department of Employment, Industrial Relations and Training, Quarterly Labour Market Report (September 1989: 45)

areas acting as barriers especially to the south and north west. Around Levendale and Little Swanport, there is more interaction with neighbouring areas of small farms. The Tasman Highway (A3) runs through the area, and recent road improvements have made it feasible to commute to Hobart, especially from Buckland. The forestry road recently opened to the public (the W road) may bring more tourists into the municipality by providing an alternative and interesting link road to Port Arthur. Table 1.4 illustrates the effect of the opening of the APPM woodchip mill in the early 70s on population and employment growth in the area, as well as significant other labour market characteristics.

The term non-metropolitan is used to describe this case study setting. Although it is impossible not to use the word rural at times, the intention is to use it in a general descriptive sense rather than to imply any specific theoretical overtones, since some of the processes at work in the area are not necessarily rural.

A case has been made in this chapter for a neomarxist realist approach which is eclectic and contextual in order to study agency/structure relations in local responses to global restructuring, exemplified in Spring Bay. Ch. 2 consists of a review of four literatures which are germane to the project. The first, uneven development, reviews the progression of thought which led to the current restructuring approach. The other three, labour market, informal activity and rural sociology, contribute to outlining preliminary issues at an empirical level.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEWS

There are several bodies of literature which cast light on this study. The most important are the uneven development literature, the labour market literature, that which is referred to somewhat misleadingly as the 'informal economy' literature, and recent developments in some aspects of rural sociology.

The uneven development literature charts the change in conceptualisation from simplistic mono-causal theories, through nomothetic attempts at explanation and world systems theory to the current restructuring model. This multi-causal, overdetermined model provides a context for the consideration of change at a variety of geographical scales and within institutions such as the labour market and the local state, at the level of individual experience, proaction and reaction, and in the relations between structures and agencies.

Labour market is a concept from neoclassical economics but the literature not only encompasses neoclassical studies but more radical work on segmented, including dual, labour markets and extends to recent theories of the flexible workforce and to supporting investigations of the experience of marginalised groups in the labour market.

The current informal economy literature has its origins in Third World development studies in the early 1970s, although it also has associations with historical studies of everyday life in Europe. In the changing economic conditions of the late 1970s onwards, however, considerable attention in western capitalist economies has focused on work activities other than formal paid employment, with an emphasis on the 'underground economy'. A further important section of the literature is concerned with the sphere of reproduction and unpaid household work. There are considerable problems of definition and usage in this whole body of literature, partly because it stems from several disciplines, and a synthetic model is proposed as a guide to subsequent usage in this thesis.

Of other possible contributing literatures, some aspects of rural sociology, notably that dealing with structured coherence and with pluriactivity, are seen as relevant to this study. Gender is recognised as an important issue within both the segmented labour market and the flexible workforce literature and is given attention in, particularly but not only, household aspects of informal activities and rural sociology. It is not intended that this be a feminist study, but a statement of gender stance is appropriate to draw together the common threads in the literatures.

It is virtually impossible to cover all of this in detail; in the following sections each has a general and often multidisciplinary background followed by emphasis on recent and geographical themes.

2.1 Uneven development literature

This review of the uneven development literature briefly puts in context earlier concepts and alleged mechanisms, some of which have remained in generalised use despite such critical evaluations as Sayer (1985a), and in particular the core and periphery dichotomy. The restructuring approach, which grew out of the spatial divisions of labour concept, is examined to assess its value as a framework for addressing current changes and their local effects.

2.1.1 Early work: a brief résumé

The concept of spatial patterns of inequality in both the more and less developed worlds has been part of geographical literature as far back as Mackinder's heartland theory (Linge 1988a). Work after the Second World War developed several different strands, each giving prominence to a single main cause for uneven development. Terms of trade and the disadvantage of the primary producers formed one focus which influenced the putting in place of import substitution policies in some third world countries (Prebisch 1962). Emmanuel (1972) argued within a cost of production framework that inequality occurs because poor countries exchange goods in which more labour-time has been incorporated for goods in which less labour-time is involved. A Marxist body of literature put forward the view that the exploitation of foreign markets was necessary for the survival of capitalism and thus economic imperialism had developed. Within this group, Baran (1957) emphasised that the losses entailed for peripheral countries were absolute and not simply relative. The dependency school (see, for example Amin 1977; Wallerstein 1979) argued that value is transferred from peripheral states to central ones, strengthening the central ones at the expense of the peripheral ones and locking them into the pattern. This group also identified a chain of dependence regionally within nation states as well as between states, in which development for some necessarily implies underdevelopment elsewhere.

The concept of 'growth pole', introduced by Perroux (1955, 1979), put Schumpeter's innovation waves concept, published during the period 1934 to 1942, into spatial terms, arguing that growth does not appear everywhere at same time. A large literature developed around this concept but it does not give any explanation of the location of growth industries nor of the consequences of a pole having a specific location. Later work identified and detailed the processes by which a more advanced region might influence other areas as spread and backwash effects (Myrdal 1957), and polarisation and trickling down (Hirschman 1958).

2.1.2 Core/periphery theories

The concept of core and periphery was first introduced in regional analysis by Friedmann (1966). In a development of both Myrdal's and Hirschman's ideas, it provided a

geographical interpretation of Rostow's (1960) stages of economic growth. The industrialisation stage

> ... typically leads to a concentration of investments in one or two areas while much of the remaining territory becomes locationally obsolete. A dualistic structure is thus imprinted on the space economy, comprising a 'center' of rapid intensive growth and a 'periphery' whose economy, imperfectly related to this centre, is either stagnant or declining (Friedmann 1966: 9).

This early work, written in the context of South American development, was later elaborated into the general theory of polarized development, published in 1972:

> Major centres of innovative change will be called *core regions*: all other areas within a given spatial system will be defined as *peripheral*. More precisely, core regions are territorially organized subsystems of society that have a high capacity for innovative change; peripheral regions are subsystems whose development path is determined chiefly by core region institutions with respect to which they stand in a relation of substantial dependency. Peripheral regions can be identified by their relations of dependency to a core area (Friedmann 1972: 93).

This dependency is reinforced by feedback effects which provide conditions in which innovation flourishes further in the core, and by which the peripheral economy is steadily weakened through a net transfer of natural, human and capital resources to the core. The final part of the theory puts forward a nested hierarchy of five spatial systems, including the world, the multination region, the nation, the subnational region and the province.

The codification of the theory led both to criticisms and attempted regional applications too numerous to detail here, and the general theme of uneven development was extended to discussion of 'top down' or 'bottom up' mechanisms, the effects of the New International Division of Labour and of other strategies of transnational corporations, and the product cycle and the filtering down of routine production within multilocational enterprises.

In what has come to be known as the world-economy approach, Wallerstein argues that core activities receive disproportionately high returns and peripheral activities low returns, so that each activity is either core or peripheral, and that the distinction is dichotomous, there being no such thing as a semiperipheral activity. A core area is one with a high proportion of its economic activities being core activities, and a peripheral area one with a high proportion of peripheral activities. A semiperipheral area is one with an equal mix of core and peripheral activities. Other Braudel Centre scholars, notably Arrighi and Drangel (1986), follow Schumpeter's lead in employing entrepreneurial innovation as a key factor in separating core and periphery. They argue that core activity reflects the ability of some entrepreneurs to gain greater returns by protecting themselves to some degree against the forces of competition; strong competition exists in peripheral activity, and so profits and wages are low. This is not as strongly

related to the dualism of industry and agriculture/extraction as in earlier work, and allows, for example, for core agriculture and peripheral agriculture. Another relational definition within the world-system perspective defines core and periphery in terms of capital intensity of activities, including manufacturing, service and agricultural activities, while allowing that manufacturing industry often is the most capital intensive activity. This is not conceptualised as dichotomous, but

> ... rather the core/periphery dimension is a continuous variable between constellations of economic activities which vary in terms of their average relative levels of capital intensity versus labour intensity (Chase-Dunn 1989: 207).

The problem of the scale of unit to which these ideas can be applied is important. Problems arise with all scales from the firm to the nation state, especially as real economic networks do not follow state boundaries. Arrighi and Drangel (1986) dispute the view that core activities are identified with capital intensive production, raising the problem of industrial production becoming an activity located in the periphery and the semiperiphery, and suggesting that capital intensive production does not always yield the highest returns. Chase-Dunn (1989) counters that short-run returns, as in peripheral boomtowns, cannot form the basis for identification of core activities.

The literature on core/periphery relations and more specifically on peripheralisation appears to have certain characteristics. Much of it is at the scale of nation states, or a broad division into the two domains at a world scale; much of it is more applicable to developing countries than to disadvantaged areas in western capitalist countries; and much of it operates at a considerable level of abstraction. Most of the discussion concerns the manufacturing sector and there is an emphasis on whether or not an area has industry, rather than on more general issues of employment. Emphasis is also on institutions rather than on people, although there has been some use of the phrase 'peripheralisation' as equating 'marginalisation' in discussions of secondary labour markets.

A review of the 'new industrial geography' published in 1985-1986 summarises the view of the mid 1980s:

> ... while much of the radical literature unfortunately continues to indulge the old, simplistic notions about cores and peripheries and the new international division of labor, much of this legacy is being abandoned and replaced by more subtle concepts. This development was prefigured by Walker's (1978) fortuitous use of the term "mosaic of unevenness" to describe the effects of the division of labor in space. More recently, Lipietz (1986), along with Sayer (1986[b]) and Scott [AJ] (1986) put to rest the idea of any straightforward world core-periphery development. All explicitly focus on the way local economies develop in light of their external relations, but do not see these local situations as determined by any set of inherent requirements of the global capitalist system (Storper 1987: 590).

Walker's phrase occurs in a discussion of spatial differentiation and capital mobility as two of the sources of uneven development under advanced capitalism. He argues that the social relations of a mode of production set limits and create pressures for a specific kind of spatial organisation, but do not determine spatial relations in a non-dialectical way. Both human beings in general and capitalists create or appropriate effective space in which to operate. The concrete physical and social attributes of places operate like means of production to increase or decrease value production, not to create it. In what is implicitly a comment on Friedmann's 'net transfer of natural, human and capital resources out of the [peripheral] area' Walker argues that

> [i]f value flows from one area to another, it is owing to the concretely different use-value circumstances of capital and labour-power operating in these places. Surplus value is still passing from workers to capitalists and from capitalist to capitalist (Walker 1978: 29)

Periphery, peripheral and peripheralisation, then, appear to be words that many writers find useful in a general descriptive sense, and they continue to be applied, but in analytic terms they cover a variety of spatial concepts and processes. Lloyd comments that peripheralisation is a category that is widely observed in both ancient and modern societies, but questions whether it has any theoretical or explanatory power and concludes that 'peripheral as a concept is simply not robust enough' (Lloyd 1990: 5). Less simplistic and more subtle approaches to uneven development within advanced capitalist countries have begun to be explored as the geographical community studies the effects of the globalisation of capital.

It had been fashionable (after Wallerstein 1976) to describe states such as Australia as semi-peripheral, especially as the gap between the so-called developed core and underdeveloped periphery widened during the long boom after 1950. Australia is urbanised, industrialised and largely affluent by world standards, with less regional disparities than in many core economies. It remains, however, very dependent on links with more powerful core states, and in many of its commercial, financial and technological relationships it resembles peripheral states of the Third World. Fagan (1987) relates this view of Australia to a major weakness of the dependency approaches, their over-emphasis on nation-states when considering exchange relations, and especially trade and capital flows.

> World systems theories in their simplest form produced the geographically appealing categories of core and periphery without confronting the complex interactions between external links, the internal political and organizational structures, and the social relations of production. Australia's semi-peripheral status - dependent but not underdeveloped - has changed over time as these interactions have been transformed (Fagan 1987: 401).

The restructuring of Australia's industrial organisations since 1970 has thus in Fagan's view contributed to the emerging 'mosaic of unevenness' (Walker 1978: 30) which is

replacing the earlier notions of core and periphery in Australia's economic geography. The term 'restructuring approach' has been applied to the exploration of the view that spatial expressions of unevenness are the outcome of the current phase of the restructuring of capital, and are a necessary prerequisite of continued capital accumulation (Bradbury 1985).

2.1.3 The restructuring approach

The nature of restructuring

The economic basis of modern life has changed fundamentally since 1945, and more rapidly since 1960. Some of the changes are visible and some less easily perceived, and in total have led to a search for patterns, models and theories to interpret them. The scale at which the term restructuring has been applied to these changes has ranged from enterprises (e.g. Britton and Le Heron 1991), through corporations (Fagan 1990) to regions (Bradbury 1985), nations (Rosenberg 1989) and the global economy (Clark 1991). In addition, agriculture (Commins 1991), forestry (Roche 1990), mining (Howitt 1991), industry (Fagan and Rich 1986), employment (Bradley 1986), manufacturing (Webber *et al.* 1989), banking (Taylor and Hirst 1984) and telecommunications (Langdale 1991) have all been seen to be in the process of restructuring. At a more abstract level, places (Savage *et al.* 1987), rural areas (Whatmore *et al.* 1990) and capital (Pahl 1985) are all being restructured. Some of these usages imply a deliberate one-off effort at restructuring, some acknowledge continuing changes and others see the process as part of a grand design, the putative change from Fordism to post-Fordism. In geographical literature, therefore, there is analysis of the effects of restructuring, both regionally and within sectors of the economy, but there are relatively few scholars addressing the nature of the entire process.

Lovering (1989b), however, provides an interesting overview of the restructuring approach which traces the changes both in the capitalist economy and in geographers' reactions to these changes in adapting theoretical perspectives. Restructuring is defined and set in context as follows:

> [i]n the discourse of radical social science, restructuring refers to qualitative changes in the relations between the constituent parts of a capitalist economy. These changes arise from conscious decisions (Lovering 1989b: 198).

and it is made clear that the concept from the restructuring approach which is most familiar is that of a spatial division of labour (Massey 1984).

Three dimensions to restructuring are identified:

- the way in which capitalist enterprises respond to changing competition by altering their products or services, the way production and distribution is organised, and the number and kind of jobs;

- the way that these changes result in changes in how economic activity is organised across geographical space, through the creation and destruction of spatial divisions of labour; and

- the explication of the links between the spatial division of labour and geographical pattern of social relations.

The restructuring approach began as a critique of positivism in industrial location studies (Massey 1984) and developed through discussion of production reorganisation from the viewpoint of analysing types of job loss (Massey and Meegan 1982, 1985a). An important step was the identification of three processes in this reorganisation: intensification; investment and technical change; and rationalisation. Intensification entails reorganisation of production processes without either loss of capacity or major new investment. Investment in new technology usually replaces labour by new machinery or automation, although the effect on employment levels is not always immediately apparent because of policies of 'not firing but not hiring'. Rationalisation involves cutbacks in capacity and possibly closure and/or relocation of plants, to gain competitive advantage from less organised labour away from strongly unionised traditional industrial areas and therefore from fewer on-costs.

Global restructuring of capital entailed rapid industrialisation of Third World countries, the deindustrialisation of some areas of First World countries and new high technology developments in other areas, with consequent radical alterations within social structures (Peet 1987). The movement of capital to new sites with low cost labour led to changes in the politics of labour. White male skilled manual workers were the traditional power base of the union movement (Gorz 1982) but as the the old industrial areas, the traditional foci of labour power, declined so did the influence of the unions. This power shift has been spelled out more particularly for Britain and the USA but also has implications for Australia, and for Tasmania in particular.

Most people live, work, and form their immediate social relationships within a restricted geographical area, as work, and the wages and salaries earned as a result, are inevitably associated with other aspects of life in an area. In the 1970s, local issues assumed new importance: plant closures, housing, especially in inner city areas, feminist and ethnic issues all became the focus of local research. In some places this move was largely outside academic interests, and in some places this research was taken over by the New Right. It was against this background that

> ... new academic work began to appear which addressed the problem of the local with both theoretical sophistication and a radical edge (Lovering 1989b: 203).

Thus the restructuring approach in human geography centred on the location of industry and regional development, was increasingly influenced by questions about the nature of the local state, the informal economy and gender relations, and contributed to the emphasis on locality studies. At a more theoretical level, Lovering sees the restructuring approach as part of the breakdown of the monolithic character of structural marxism referred to in Ch. 1:

> ... the restructuring approach ... is essentially a long-term project to overcome the 'abstract and arbitrary' elements in Marxist writing on space in the 1970s, ... without throwing out the insight of Marxism that the capitalist character of the economy exerts a pervasive influence on social life (Lovering 1989b: 207).

This trend is also evident in the work of Bradbury (1985, 1989), who had been influenced by a different experience of industrial change, the closure of mines and the repercussions on mining towns in Eastern Canada, and incorporated crisis theory into his interpretation:

> [restructuring is] the empirical experiences during a crisis event or a phase of adaptation and change in a whole system of production, be it at the local, regional or national level. ... it embraces the modifications in the production system itself which have repercussions on the location and distribution of work and industry and on the viability of the whole process of capital accumulation. More specifically the term suggests both positive and negative processes: positive restructuring when new production relations are generated and negative during a phase of deindustrialization (Bradbury 1989: 21).

He cautions against seeking the causes of restructuring entirely within a local area, region or even within the nation state, since actual changes are most likely to be the result of interaction between internal and external components of the international division of labour (see also Howitt (1991) on Australia). The process is not linear but cyclical, and associated with conflict, during periods involving job change, the redivision of labour and the restructuring of skills. Bradbury also builds on the work of Holloway and Picciotto (1978) who suggest that the process of restructuring involves three main areas: an increase in the rate of exploitation; devaluation and destruction of constant and outmoded fixed capital; and the redistribution of total surplus value through state policy away from less productive state expenditures and inefficient capital. These themes are all incorporated in a model of the general processes of geographical restructuring, which relates trigger events, general process changes, structural outcome and geographical impact (Figure 2.1). Such a model, however, in concentrating on processes almost inevitably implies the working out of impersonal mechanisms, with little implication of Lovering's 'conscious decisions'. In particular there is no way of incorporating interaction between structure and agency beyond phrases such as 'class conflict in the workplace involving capital and labour', and thus little suggestion of the role of people in what appear as impersonal processes.

Trigger events	General process changes	Structural outcome	Geographical impact
Cyclical downswing Profit decline - absolute and by rate Production bottlenecks	Restructuring of corporate investment plans in machinery and repairs - constant, partial or complete reproduction of fixed capital	Winding down/up Plant openings/closures Disinvestment/investment Machinery movements/ acquisitions New inter-industry linkages	Community - rupture of work/social networks, temporary or permanent unemployment - layoffs - migration - new job cycles
Decline in capacity and quality of fixed capital Technological peaks and plateaux in plant/machinery efficiency Class conflict in the workplace involving capital and labour	Labour process changes - modifications in rate and intensity of work Job skill changes derived from new technology Reformulation of class positions and conflict regulation	Intensification - prolonged/temporary Rationalization - continuous/periodic Technical changes - maximum/minimum	Plant - decline in quality of infrastructure - changes in local and regional industrial linkages - location/relocation of plant in brownfield and greenfield sites
Intercapitalist conflict and competitive behaviour Overproduction or underconsumption Commodity and product cycle crises Raw materials and energy costs	Products aligned towards consumer needs Search for lower costs of production: via energy efficiency (heat), machinery changes and innovations State action: deployment of regulatory mechanisms and state capital	State intervention - tariffs - protectionism - financial aid - market allocation - labour regulation - state capital/valorization - legitimation of capital's actions - import and export controls (non-tariff mechanisms) - anti-dumping laws - quotas	Restructuring of markets - nationally and internationally Changes in intensity usage in different regions New national production systems in developing world - sunset and sunrise industry syndrome

Figure 2.1 General processes of geographical restructuring
Source: Bradbury (1989: 26-7)

Australasian approaches to restructuring

Fagan, in calling for research on the geographical impacts of restructuring, so that policy formulation reflects the implications for specific regions and groups of workers in Australia, rather than being dominated by the aggregate processes of change, comments that those hardest hit by structural change are often those least able to relocate or move within sectors to seek work (Fagan 1987). The impacts are sharply uneven spatially as well as sectorally. This pragmatic and people-oriented view reflects a move towards the consideration of what might be termed social restructuring.

Taylor endorses this view that the current perspective on restructuring, especially in government policy, neglects actual and potential impacts on different people and regions and 'assumes that the processes of change occur on a completely level playing field with all parts of the country having the same capacity to adjust' (Taylor 1991: 255). This inadequate conceptualisation is seen as the result of emphasis on economic rationalism: '... the prevailing 'dry' approaches to restructuring have become ... reified, theory driven and to a large extent 'other-worldish' (Taylor 1991: 255). He points to the effects of massive social dislocation in remote rural areas because of the unchecked effects of international economic pressures in highly specialised local economies; regional communities being disadvantaged by having their employment and service bases eroded; and vulnerable social groups being further marginalised by ambivalent government policy which simultaneously promotes equality and cancels out opportunities through economic rationalism. The need is for a regional approach to effects of both economic rationalism and of restructuring pressures. These pressures take two forms: those exerted by the international economy through competition and through protection in Australia's export markets; and government policies to make Australia more competitive and more active in international markets.

A similar antipodean view is expressed in the introduction to a study by New Zealand geographers of changing places in New Zealand. It endorses Lovering's view:

> ... start[ing] with the premise that "restructuring" springs from the deliberate, calculated and creative acts of people ... [and] at a very general level restructuring signals *qualitative shifts in relationships* involving industries, organisations, territories and nations ... revealing *restructuring outcomes as products of human agency in a turbulent structural environment*' (Le Heron *et al.* 1992: 3 - italics in original).

The conventional wisdom about restructuring is labelled as the Simple Restructuring (SR) model and an alternative, the Geographic Restructuring (GR) model, is presented. The point is made that the working out of the model varies from country to country, as the result of the economic history, legislation and current place in the global economy of each. The SR model is nationally based and regards restructuring as a 'once only' finite process

initiated by the government. Problems are seen as external in origin but solutions internal, a dichotomy between global and national change which is both simplistic and limiting.

The GR model is locally, nationally and globally based and regards restructuring as an ongoing process. The origins of this process are global and part of the dynamic of capitalism as a whole although the patterns are specific to particular contexts. Since crises are recurrent problems of capitalism, the necessity for restructuring will recur and thus 'resolution' of problems is a preferable term to the finality implied in 'solution'. The main tenets of the conceptualisation are that: periods of restructuring are times of intensified change; state policy affects accumulation prospects for different groups within a nation of different interests; restructuring crises precede new economic, social and government patterns; and the particular crisis conditions and development of each nation are different. This more subtle model therefore does not involve premature closure but facilitates further understanding. A cogent warning of the putative outcomes of restructuring is given:

> [t]o imply that once restructuring has occurred the "gains" will automatically or even eventually come is a failure to comprehend the workings of the capitalist world. The new links merely change the source from which powerful forces of change might come (Le Heron *et al.* 1992: 12).

These more nuanced views of the possibilities of local uneven development as the result of restructuring at a global as well as national and local scale provide a framework for considering details of changes in local firms and institutions in a context of change at other levels and the pressures that are exerted locally from them. The particular value lies in the stress on the articulation of different scales of action as well as action by individuals and structures. The emphasis on the importance of local conditions and individual responses and initiatives leads to the integrated consideration of labour market experiences and household strategies. There have been criticisms of the concept of 'survival' strategies, but households can face marked changes in quality of life and need for adaptation of consumption patterns without being at total risk and for some the emphasis should be on 'coping' with change rather than survival.

Similarly, as a result of restructuring at various scales, areas can face significant reconstruction of local space with concomitant changes in local labour markets. Section 2.2 is concerned with the labour market literature as a background to these changes.

2.2 Labour market literature

Since Sayer popularised Marx's term, it has become commonplace to identify 'chaotic conceptions' (Marx 1973: 100; Sayer 1984: 126). It would prove difficult, however, to find a widely used term more in need of 'unpacking' than 'labour market'. It is used in the literature to cover a theoretical abstraction and local, regional and national

manifestations of some aspects of that abstraction. The term is also used in a series of dualisms, primary and secondary labour markets, urban and rural labour markets, structured and unstructured labour markets, and internal and external labour markets, while segmented labour markets subsume many of the foregoing. In addition the term is used adjectivally or in the genitive case, so that there are, for example, references to labour market institutions, labour market regulation, labour market flexibility and labour market policy where there is often little indication of which substantive usage is being employed. A particularly obscure use is labour market behaviour which may mean the behaviour of the labour market in one of its many usages or the behaviour of individuals in the labour market in, for example, acquiring new skills, taking early retirement or migrating. It is therefore not surprising to find such statements as

> ... labour markets are only imperfectly and controversially understood at either an empirical or a theoretical level (Blandy and Richardson 1982: 1).

In terms of geography, it is difficult to be sure when a usage has a spatial connotation or when it appears to have but is in reality abstracting from it. It is thus with caution that an examination of selected labour market literature is made in the next subsections.

2.2.1 Neoclassical theories of the labour market

In neoclassical economics, labour market theory holds that there is a free system of job allocation through fair competition. The labour market is conceptualised as constantly moving to equilibrium between jobs and workers, with the wage mechanism adjusting to changes in demand and supply between buyers and sellers of labour who are seen as acting freely on an equal footing on the basis of uniform information (see, for example, Marshall 1920; Hunter and Mulvey 1981; Norris 1983). Labour economists do make statements about national labour markets but the operation of the market activity is often examined at the more specific level of the local labour market:

> A perfectly defined local labour market is that area from which all firms in the locality draw their workers and in which all the area's workers work for those firms. In practice the borders of such markets are difficult to define, particularly in metropolitan areas (Norris 1983: 79).

In practice, also, as Morrison (1990) has pointed out, although the local labour market purports to be a spatial concept, what labour economists are seeking is in effect a controlled laboratory, in which they can eliminate variations and form generalisations. The implication is that location does not matter since the market processes are universal. Within this conceptualisation, which is subject to the well rehearsed criticisms of neo-classical economics concepts of equilibrium and rational optimising behaviour, there are two matters in particular which continue to attract debate. The first is the relation with human capital theory which holds that the operation of the labour market encourages workers to invest in education and training for themselves and their children to ensure better jobs in terms of both pay and conditions or type of work (Becker 1964). Orthodox

economists have gradually become aware of the value of a view that this is a long term effect. Since it relates to responsibilities for education and training, human capital theory also arises in radical theories and is also discussed later in this chapter in the section on reproduction.

The second question is whether labour can be treated as a commodity in the same way as, for example, iron ore, or whether it has special characteristics which necessitate treatment different from other factors of production. Neoclassical economists have treated labour in the first way, as reducible to price and quality, but this has been increasingly questioned both in relation to wages and to the nature and acquisition of skills, and to the questions which remain unanswered. Solow, while retaining the supply and demand mechanism but suggesting the concept that the labour market can have a range of equilibrium configurations, sums up the problem as follows:

> Economic theory comes to the labor market with its standard collection of categories, and has trouble. It has trouble with the relative inflexibility of wages and with the persistence of unemployment (Solow 1990: 21).

The laws of supply and demand apparently do not operate in the way or time-scale anticipated in the orthodox model. In order to account for this longstanding problem, 'a variety of motives and interactions that are conspicuously missing from the standard textbook model' (Solow 1990: 31) are incorporated in models such as efficiency-wage theory and insider-outsider theory. The various versions of efficiency-wage theory are based on the observation that workers in modern industry often have some control over their own productivity and produce more when they are well motivated. Thus employers find it unprofitable to cut wages at times of growing unemployment as a reduction in the wage paid would lower the productivity of existing employees, so wages remain inflexible and labour is retrenched. Other labour market features, such as dual labour markets (see section 2.2.2 for definition) and the offer and payment of differing wages to workers of identical characteristics can be explained by this theory. Dual labour markets can be attributed to the assumption that the wage-productivity relation is important in the primary sector where wages are maintained, and unimportant in the secondary sector where jobs may be available at lower pay. The differing relationship between wages and productivity in different firms may result in a spread of wage offers for identical groups of workers. Similarly, groups of workers within a firm may be seen to have different productivity reactions (Akerlof and Yellen 1986a).

The insider-outsider approach has its basis in the idea that firms find it costly to substitute unemployed workers for experienced workers The costs may be in the form of hiring, training and firing costs, morale effects of labour turnover, or the experienced workers' ability and incentive to resist the hiring of outsiders by refusing to train them or cooperate with them. The insiders have an advantage and bargaining power which can

prevent wages being reduced by competition with the outsiders, and unemployment persists (Lindbeck and Snower 1988a, b).

These are recent developments within equilibrium theory which combine pragmatic observation with more sophisticated theory than the traditional neoclassical approach, but dissatisfaction with the orthodox view had already produced an alternative radical approach. This was based on a need to incorporate the role of the state, the sphere of reproduction, concepts of class and institutional forms and processes into the structuring of the labour market, and led to the development of labour market segmentation theory.

2.2.2 Labour market segmentation theory

Labour market segmentation theory, of which dual labour market theory is treated as a special case, had its origins in the USA in the 1960s and was further developed by the Cambridge School in the late 70s and early 80s. The considerable literature on this topic has recently been summarised by Peck (1989b).

Dual labour market theory (Doeringer and Piore 1971) divided the labour market into two segments on the basis of pay, skills, technical production processes, social class, security and prospects of advancement: the primary segment encompassed the 'better' jobs in all the foregoing respects, and was dominated (in the USA) by prime-aged white males; the secondary segment was seen as being linked to small firms in backward areas of the economy whose low status, low security jobs were taken up by marginal groups - women, young people, the disabled and ethnic minorities (see, for example, Rubery and Wilkinson 1981; Garnsey *et al.* 1985; Rutherford and Wekerle 1988 for work on these marginal groups within the labour market).

Some neoclassical economists had been aware of the existence of non-competing groups within labour markets and also within individual firms. Reich *et al.* (1973) addressed this question of fragmentation, asserting that orthodox neoclassical theory does not explain why group characteristics are of continuing importance. They defined segmented labour markets as the outcome of an historical segmentation process in which political-economic forces encourage the division of the labour market into separate submarkets or segments distinguished by different characteristics and behavioural rules, which may cut horizontally or vertically across the occupational structure. They identified four segmentation processes of which the first was segmentation into primary and secondary sectors, largely on the basis of the acquisition or not of stable working habits. The second was segmentation within the primary sector into an independent primary segment of jobs requiring creative, problem-solving, self-initiating characteristics and a subordinate primary segment of more routine jobs requiring dependability, discipline and identification with the firm's goals. The third was segmentation by race, which geographical separation plays an important part in maintaining, but where certain jobs

within independent and subordinate primary segments and the secondary segment are segregated by prejudice. The fourth type of segmentation, by gender, identified the female segment as having lower wages than for comparable male jobs, and often as providing services for other people and particularly men, requiring a 'serving mentality' encouraged by family and schooling institutions (Reich *et al.* 1973: 359-360).

The underlying reasons for segmentation have been conceptualised in several ways. Changes in technology and the production process requiring expensive skills training, coinciding with changes in industrial structure towards oligopoly, were put forward as making possible the growth of such a restricted sector in the labour market as the primary segment. The secondary segment though backward was seen as a necessary part of the system in providing the flexibility to deal with variations in the trade cycle through sub-contracting, temporary employment and other means of utilising the reserve army of labour (Doeringer and Piore 1971).

Other writers, notably Braverman (1974), saw the origins of segmentation in the deskilling and homogenising of the labour force consequent on Fordist factory production technology and organisation. Marxist wage theory embodies the concept that labour is paid less than it is worth because of unequal power relations between capital and labour. Labour market segmentation was seen as a strategy of capitalism to control the production process by organising work into groupings with internal promotion ladders, both to provide some form of incentive in an increasingly dehumanised system and to fragment working class consciousness and solidarity (Bluestone 1972; Sorensen and Kalleberg 1981; Granovetter 1981). These internal promotion ladders developed an existing concept of internal labour markets within local labour markets; internal labour markets are employing units, such as manufacturing plants, within which the pricing and allocation of labour is governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures which can give advantages to certain groups more desirable to management (Doeringer and Piore 1971; Osterman 1984; Fevre 1989). Conditions of entry into a firm and promotion within it, with regard to rates, qualifications, seniority and ceilings, differ between groups. These can be manipulated by employers to gain effective control of labour, and can also be manipulated by unions to gain advantage for their members over other workers (Reich *et al.* 1973).

More recent work has been concerned with the development of multi-causal explanations of the process of labour market segmentation. Doeringer and Piore's view of skills and the technical requirements of production processes, and Reich *et al.'s* structural functional approach of control strategies were seen as essentially single mechanisms influencing labour demand. Recent theorists have identified and explored the interacting effects of these and other influences on labour demand such as patterns of competition in product markets, variations in capital intensity and scale of production with labour supply within industrial sectors, and the role of the state. It is also argued that the supply of

labour is influenced not only by the wage mechanism as held by neoclassical theorists, but also by demography, societal views on participation in the labour force and by the activities of organised labour, and it is in these areas that important recent contributions have been made. The social relations of the production and reproduction of labour power have been analysed through the family's role in several areas: in the support of the dependent young, aged, sick and handicapped; in the social conditioning and early education of children; in the support of workers in the labour force through what has been termed day to day reproduction; and in the income sharing role of the family household with its implications for the gender division of labour in the home and in the labour force, and for the provision of a 'family wage' (Barrett and McIntosh 1980; Morris 1987; Cass 1988). Society's expectations (Willis 1977), mediated through class and family, and occupational structuring (Offe and Hinrichs 1985) together are held to be as important as labour market opportunities.

Closely linked to discussion of the family, the role of female labour especially within the secondary sector is seen as crucial by segmentation theorists; they regard this sector as acting as a safety valve for labour demand as a whole in the fluctuations of the business cycle, and also identify the workers in the secondary sector as being the most vulnerable in times of recession. Even at the best of times, and in all but the very best conditions, part-time work and career interruptions for childbearing are penalised in the award structure, and labour market structures such as 'glass ceilings' militate against women workers.

Human capital theory suggests that time away from paid labour influences the type of work chosen by women, in that they are unwilling to invest time and resources in entering employment which starts at low wages and requires protracted training. Other work on gender segregation distinguishes between horizontal segregation, in which men and women are most commonly working in different types of occupation, and vertical segregation when men are most commonly working in higher grade occupations and women in lower grade occupations although occupations inevitably contain elements of each (Hakim 1981). It is, however, a useful distinction when investigating at the level of individual position or individual firm. Walby and Bagguley (1990), using Minimum List Headings of the Standard Industrial Classification in Britain, have shown a decrease in horizontal segregation for men and an increase for women in the decade 1971-81. They ascribe this to a decrease in the number of jobs available in traditionally male areas of work, rather than to men deliberately moving into traditional women's jobs. They attribute the existence of vertical segregation to historical closure of certain levels by patriarchal forces and suggest that periods of restructuring are when changes can occur, when the balance of capitalist and patriarchal relations alters.

Segmentation theorists such as Rubery (1978) also argue that trade unions and professional associations derive some of their power base from applying restrictions on the supply of labour to their particular niche in the labour market, an argument of particular interest in Australia because of current changes to training systems (see sub-section 3.5.2). By systems of apprenticeship and other training schemes, licensing, accreditation and other forms of credentialism, some specifically aimed at excluding migrants, they attempt to insulate their niche from conditions in the rest of the labour market. Collectively they exclude other workers who consequently look for employment in the secondary sector, and so one of the attributes of secondary work becomes lack of collective organisation. Power in the labour market thus has become an issue for discussion (Purdy 1988; Cockburn 1981, 1983, 1985) and collective action, social perception and the position of disadvantaged groups in the secondary sector have been linked in the argument that those groups are seen to have an alternative role, means of support or even the freedom to conduct a lifestyle outside the labour market and so are denied access to the stable conditions of the primary sector (Offe and Hinrichs 1985).

The state, while being specifically involved in demand for labour through policies in taxation and public spending especially under monetarist governments, and in labour supply through education and welfare provision and regulations, training initiatives etc., has a more general role in its response to the economic and political climate. It makes possible additional labour supply in boom conditions through for example the provision of subsidised child care facilities, and helps restrict the supply in times of recession and high unemployment by using the public service as exemplar to encourage early retirement, permanent part-time work and job-sharing.

Feminist thinkers argue that some of the state's main functions lie in the labour market as the result of the need to procure the necessary conditions for the reproduction of labour power which cannot be left to capital because of its preoccupation with accumulation and profit in the short term (see, for example, de Brunhoff 1978). Recent work has questioned the dualist concept of production and reproduction (see Fig. 2.2), arguing particularly from the standpoint of petty commodity production. The separation of biological reproduction from the day to day labour required to provide sustenance and daily care allows for a composite concept of production, reproduction and livelihood (see Fig. 2.3). This permits the productive labour process to be seen as spanning the production for subsistence and expanded production for exchange (Bennholt-Thompson 1982; Redclift 1985; Whatmore 1991b). Allied work on reproduction is discussed later under informal activities in section 2.3.

2.2.3 Theories of the flexible labour force

During the 1980s, the term 'flexible labour market practices', or 'flexible employment' or 'core-periphery strategy', has been used as part of the more general discussion of flexible

Level of abstraction	Production	Reproduction
General	Mode of production	Mode of reproduction
Necessary relations	Labour Means of production	Biological reproduction Heterosexuality
Historical form	Capitalist class relations	Patriarchal gender relations
Concrete sites	Economy/employment	Family/marriage

Fig. 2.2 Dualistic approaches to production and reproduction
Source: Whatmore (1991b: 38)

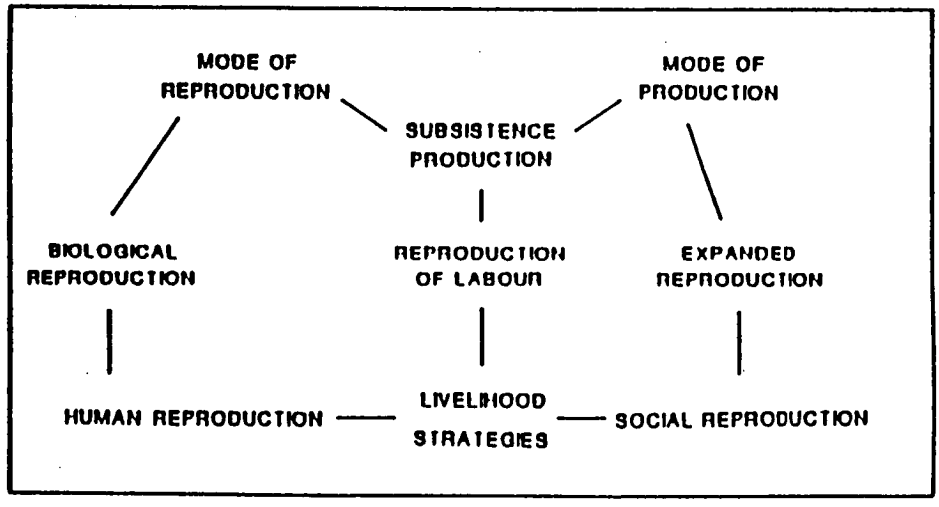


Fig. 2.3 Production, reproduction and livelihood
Source: Whatmore (1991b: 39)

manufacturing, flexible specialisation and flexible accumulation. Piore and Sabel (1984) is often taken as the beginning of academic discussion of flexibility, but the Australian Science and Technology Committee (ASTEC) was discussing its implementation on the factory floor in the metal industries in 1983 (ASTEC 1983). There is some discussion at the academic level of whether flexible practices exist although some of this discussion is over the whole spectrum of flexibility, not singling out employment practices (Hudson 1989). On the other hand, at the level of '... if your firm has some of these problems ...', Beckman deals in pragmatic terms with flexibility as the next strategy to obtain competitive advantage (Beckman 1990).

The importance of phraseology has been pointed out: flexibility, telecommuting or networking, distance work, and the abolition of work give a very different impression from casualisation, homeworking or outworking, and mass unemployment. Periods of unemployment can be construed as enabling people to obtain more training and education, to engage in constructive, self-generated economic activity in middle age and to enjoy a longer, more satisfying retirement (Allen and Wolkowitz 1987). Some writers, led by Piore and Sabel, argue that the new work practices being introduced offer opportunities for improving the quality of working life. Others see flexible practices as predominantly an ideology to undermine the power and rigid work practices of organised labour in order to achieve greater levels of accumulation, which is little new as far as labour's view of relations with capital is concerned (Pollert 1988a, b; Gertler 1988a). Hakim, while allowing that there is nothing new in employers seeking flexibility in their use of labour, asserts that what is new is the pace of change in the 1980s, with rapid changes in working time, the organisation of work and the sudden growth of all the types of work which differ from the 'standard', 'typical' or 'normal' employment contract of full-time work for an indefinite period (Hakim 1990).

The causes of this alleged move towards flexibility are also disputed. Causes put forward include the globalisation of markets, the saturation of mass markets and the consequent search for niche markets, trend-setting and short production runs, the success of Japanese manufacturing in utilising strategies such as Just In Time, and the ability of information technology to program reactions to changes in demand (Schoenberger 1988).

A model of labour market segmentation theory, used by sociologists in Europe, is shown in Fig. 2.4. Hakim (1990) finds that it provides a framework to discuss flexibility at both national and individual firm levels. The four sectors are obtained by intersecting internal and external labour markets with primary and secondary labour markets. The firm's core

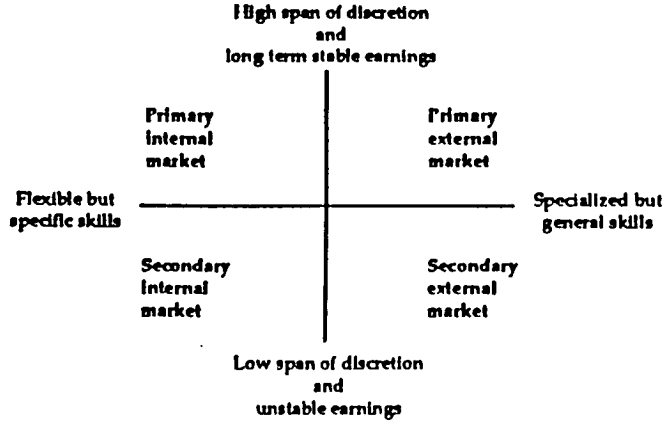


Figure 2.4 Organisational and firm specific labour markets
Source: Loveridge (1983: 159)

workforce consists of jobs in the primary internal sector, permanent, full-time, with flexible but firm-specific skills, a high degree of discretion or autonomy, and long term stable earnings. Work requiring occupation-specific rather than firm-specific skills, such as professional and skilled craft work, and often supplied on a contract, consultancy or self-employed basis, is typical of the primary external market. The secondary internal market encompasses part-time jobs and the secondary external market seasonal, casual, and short-term contract work and homework.

Figure 2.5 represents an ideal type model, a tool to analyse a wide variety of changes in employment practices necessary for continued profits and accumulation, rather than a description of the practices of any real firm. In this model, flexibility in the primary segment of skilled full-time workers is achieved through the deployment of workers between tasks, operations and products; this functional flexibility involves multi-skilling (or polyvalency) and the abolition of much job demarcation, and by implication is referring to the subordinate primary sector since management control would be considerable. The secondary labour market is part of the means of achieving numerical flexibility in response to changing demands for labour, and other strategies, such as the use of publicly subsidised trainees on short term training courses, permanent part-timers, short term contracts and job sharing, add to the formation of a peripheral or marginalised group. This group, together with a group (with some potential overlap) of subcontractors with short-term contracts, agency temporaries, outworkers and self-employed represent a transfer from capital to labour of on-costs, legal obligations and risk. Further financial flexibility is achieved by adjusting wages in line with increases in the supply of labour. It also facilitates numerical and functional flexibility by assessment-based pay systems (or payment by results), and negotiation of wages at plant level to take advantage of regional wage differentials and those between skilled and unskilled, or young and experienced workers. Flexible policies are most easily implemented when a firm replaces full-time workers, after redundancy or relocation, with new workers employed under different terms, especially those with a poorer position in the labour market, or by locating work outside the office or factory, to other firms, sub-contractors or homeworkers. There is little reciprocal advantage for workers, shifting risk and uncertainty and possibly absorption of overheads to another group. Empirical work in Britain, however, although based on Atkinson's model, found marked contrasts in increased flexibility between sectors; managements in retail and financial services have concentrated on numerical flexibility and an increase in part-time work in particular, while functional flexibility has been more important in manufacturing (Elger 1987). A broader view of the flexible firm is shown in Fig. 2.6.

Another aspect of the flexibility debate is the alleged increase of forms of work outside the labour market such as moonlighting and other forms of undeclared work: self-

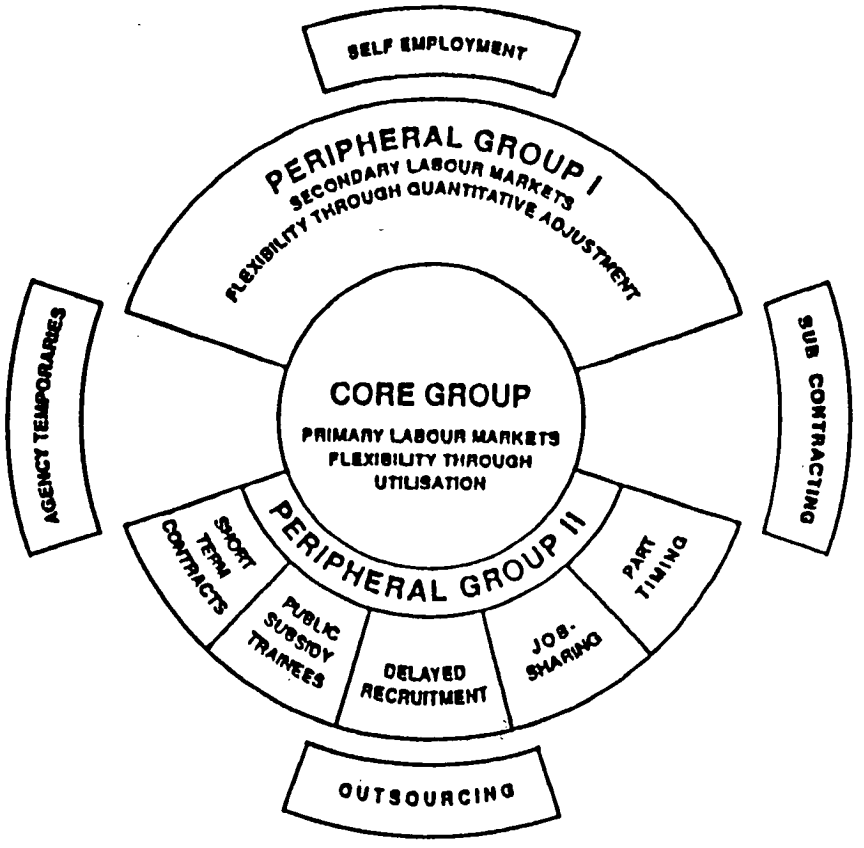


Figure 2.5 Flexible employment
Source: Atkinson (1984) in Pollert (1988a: 284)

provisioning and self-servicing, including petty commodity production and petty services; activities that are illegal under civil as well as criminal law; and voluntary work replacing public provision. Estimates vary for western capitalist countries of the importance of these activities, which are alleged to be related to high taxation, and to the dismantling of the apparatus of the welfare state. This aspect of flexibility is discussed further in section 2.3.

The debate about flexible employment and flexibility in general has roused strong academic feelings, and has been entangled with arguments over post-modernism. It has been asserted that generalisations are based on too few industries and too few areas and that, in particular, undue influence is exerted by the situation in a few specialised areas such as Emilia Romagna and Silicon Valley (Gertler 1988a: Amin 1992). As the discussion of flexibility is underpinned by assumptions about Taylorisn and Fordism, empirical questions of the timing of Fordism and post-Fordism have been raised, together with the capacity of current theories to interpret changes in production and employment (Webber 1991). Piore and Sabel's approach is seen as emphasising flexibility as the dominant characteristic (see Amin and Robins 1990), rather than viewing it as one of a variety of changes which make up the present scene; this may involve factors outside the

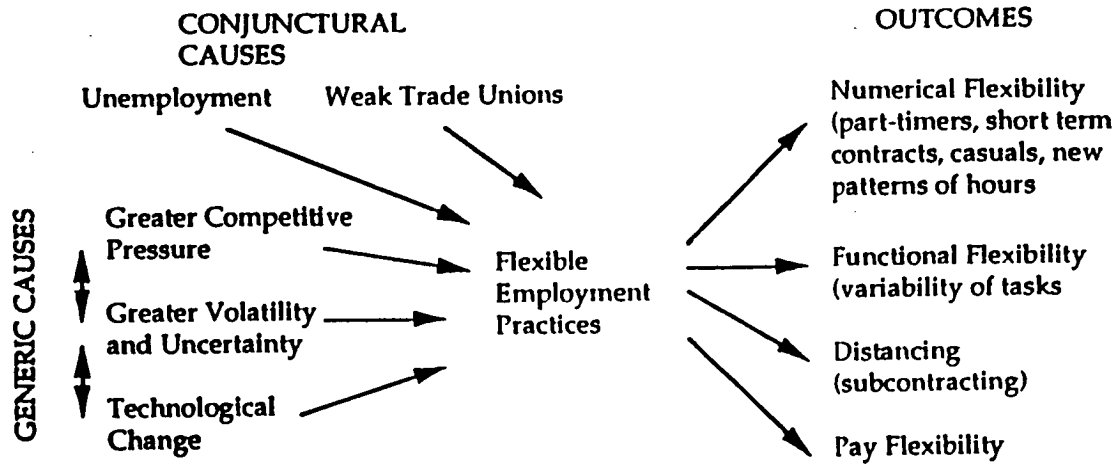


Fig. 2.6 Atkinson and Meager's model of the flexible firm
Source: Atkinson and Meager (1986) in Penn (1992)

traditional capitalist economy such as environmental management and the redevelopment of Eastern Europe, in the search for continuing profitability if not stability (Webber 1991).

In general, the segmented model is still relevant, and can be used to assess current developments. For some employers, adoption of a flexible employment strategy is simply a more explicit and visible way of doing what they had done previously. For some workers, more flexible work hours and the extension of part-time employment opportunities may be welcome but for others it may be an abandonment of hard won rights (Gertler 1988b). For women workers who have already shown a high degree of flexibility between time at home and at work, the problem may lie in the fact that this flexibility apparently is insufficient for new requirements in economic development (Nielsen 1991). Flexible strategy is most noticeable in 'distant' categories; that is, part-time and temporary staff are used by most employers, and there may have been an increase in this use; the use of agency temporary staff, and subcontracting, including subcontracting of self-employed labour, is associated with restructuring both of work and the organisation. The future may see the narrowing of the gap between conditions in the primary internal and other sectors rather than major changes in the relative sizes of the four sectors (Hakim 1990). The effect on labour in marginal areas may be significant, as demand may retract to core areas in situations where the labour component in production becomes less important (Schoenberger 1988).

2.2.4 Spatial considerations

Much of the foregoing is aspatial in nature and indeed deliberately so. Even in setting out the assumptions of a so-called spatial model, for example, Nakagome makes it clear that it is not geographically but abstractly spatial:

> Following the standard model of the spatial economy, it is assumed that firms producea single commodity and are spatially separated from rivals. Travel costs are paid by households. For simplicity, households are supposed to be identical and to be uniformly distributed along an unbounded labour market line. ... we assume that the location of households is exogenously given and that they travel to work to the nearest firm (Nakagome 1986: 308).

From a geographical viewpoint, these kinds of assumptions, aiming at uniformity and enabling generalisation, do not allow for the study of spatial differentiation.

Some of the work on labour markets of the last twenty years, however, is time and place specific, much relating to the USA, and further work has been done to ascertain if those observations apply to other places or as generalisations. In general, however, there was little emphasis on geographical themes until the mid 1980s. In 1986 three reviews were published, one each from Britain, the USA and continental Europe, which illustrate the similarities and differences in approaches evident at that time (Martin 1986; Clark 1986a; Fischer 1986). Martin and Fischer both drew attention to the need to apply a geographical perspective, particularly in view of the problems developing in the old, traditional manufacturing cities and areas, inner cities and peripheral areas of Britain, the USA and other established manufacturing countries, and of the different spatial configuration of new job growth in technological, professional and high wage employment. While the spatial disparities in unemployment rates have attracted most attention from geographers, Martin indicated the need for an approach geared to understanding the labour-market processes involved, and in particular to evaluating non-Keynesian approaches to unemployment in the context of the local labour market. Fischer emphasised that geographical space exerts a frictional effect on labour market adjustment, and that spatial mismatches between the demand for and supply of labour contribute to higher national unemployment.

While spatial perspectives have been applied in an unconnected way in the area of job search theory (Clark and Whiteman 1983), and in labour turnover and wage differentials (Martin 1981a), Martin saw most potential in the spatial division of labour approach of Massey (1984) and Storper and Walker (1984). This approach has drawn attention to the way in which changes in industrial organisation and the labour process are altering spatial labour demand, but not how these changes are met and structured in different areas. In his assessment, however, there was at that point no comprehensive theory of spatial labour markets and their operation (Martin 1986). On the demand side of spatial labour market research, Fischer argues that the emphasis has been on the broad

employment effects in terms of jobs, for example, the effects of the process of concentration through takeovers, mergers and intra-firm restructuring, while what is now needed is more detailed examination of occupational changes and shifting production tasks. The role of information in job search models, and particularly the view that information is not sufficiently considered, being neither as homogeneous nor as complete and universal as is often assumed, is also important (Clark 1986b).

The role of both space and job search information in the persistence of labour market inequalities, in the segregation of women and men into occupations with different working conditions, opportunities for advancement and wages has recently been explored from a feminist perspective. Pratt and Hanson (1991a) argue that occupational segregation is related to the day-to-day space-time constraints women face rather than to time out of the labour force and the consequences of this in terms of human capital theory and resultant job types. The location of the job and working hours may be more important than wages in the decision whether or not to take a certain job or to work at all. Domestic responsibilities may give priority to proximity of job and home; more tenuous access to reliable transport restricts their choice of labour markets; and women's information networks tend to be locally based. Research showed that the majority of people do not find jobs through active, dedicated search but rather through a serendipitous process. There are gender differences in job search and women who find jobs in atypical occupations find them by different ways from those who enter female dominated ones. Job search thus enters into the gendering of paid employment:

> ... individuals do not come to the job search as economic men or women, reacting only to the structure of labour markets and employment opportunities. They come fully embedded in social relations: of family, community, and gender ... these social relations, in turn, are embedded in space (Hanson and Pratt 1991b: 250).

The need to examine other noncompetitive forces at work in the labour market is advocated by Fischer, asserting that the impact of institutional aspects (such as unemployment benefit and social security regulations) can only be effectively analysed by cross-national studies. His use of 'only' is in contrast to Martin's view of the importance of locality studies. Fischer also refers to the informal labour market, in an interesting list of research priorities:

> The informal sector may serve to diminish frictions on spatial labour markets through its greater flexibility, provide temporary and part-time jobs without bureaucratic regulations, and act as a breeding ground for innovative behaviour (Fischer 1986: 1420).

This view is taken up again later in this chapter.

The relation between location of economic activity and labour markets in conditions of uncertainty prompts Clark (1986a) to comment that recent research emphasises the

importance of local employment practices in any location decision, assuming a world in which there are many possible locations for production. The pattern of relations between management and workers is crucial, and it is how various agents in the local labour market make production decisions, make employment contracts, and alter past decisions that determines the spatial pattern of economic restructuring. The focus of research is seen as having shifted away from the macro-economic concerns of regional and urban transformation to the origins of inequality found in the structure and performance of the local job market, and thus from spatial inequality as a derivative of general phenomena to spatial differentiation as an innate element in explaining inequality.

To consider further the theme of spatial division of labour, Storper and Walker (1984: 22-24) discuss the role of the unique character of labour in the theory of the spatial division of labour. They distinguish four ways in which labour functions as a pseudo-commodity rather than as a true commodity: conditions of purchase; performance capacity; labour control; and reproduction in place. In purchasing on the labour market, an employer does not buy a worker outright, but buys a limited period of the worker's time. In addition, important considerations such as conditions of employment, fringe benefits and career prospects are part of the purchase agreement. Performance capacity and labour control are essentially linked in that the performance capacity of a person as opposed to a piece of equipment is '... multidimensional ... [and] includes technical skill, intensity, adaptability, discipline, sociability, self-direction, stability and the like.' In addition, the level of these attributes which can be obtained from a worker, by whatever means of supervision and control, is of great importance to employers. These attributes are also socially produced, largely outside of the workplace. Workers therefore vary with local culture and there is a great deal of spatial differentiation in the character as well as the skills of the workforce. This is a basic aspect of the spatial division of labour.

Massey is concerned with the spatial division of labour and its effects on industrial location, not with the labour market *per se*. She points out the absence of class-related analyses (but see Oberhauser 1989 on American work not discussed by Massey); class structure in her conceptualisation is derived from the division of labour as well as from the relations of production. Her basic framework (Figure 2.7) raises many questions when regarded in terms of the labour market, particularly in the areas of petit-bourgeoisie and small employers, who are employers as well as labour (Massey 1984).

Recent work on class formation and decomposition in agriculture analyses changes particularly in the petit-bourgeoisie and emphasises that increasingly individuals occupy dual positions with regard to class and the labour market and that the concept of the 'propertied worker' is susceptible of extension outside agriculture (Friedland and Pugliese 1989).

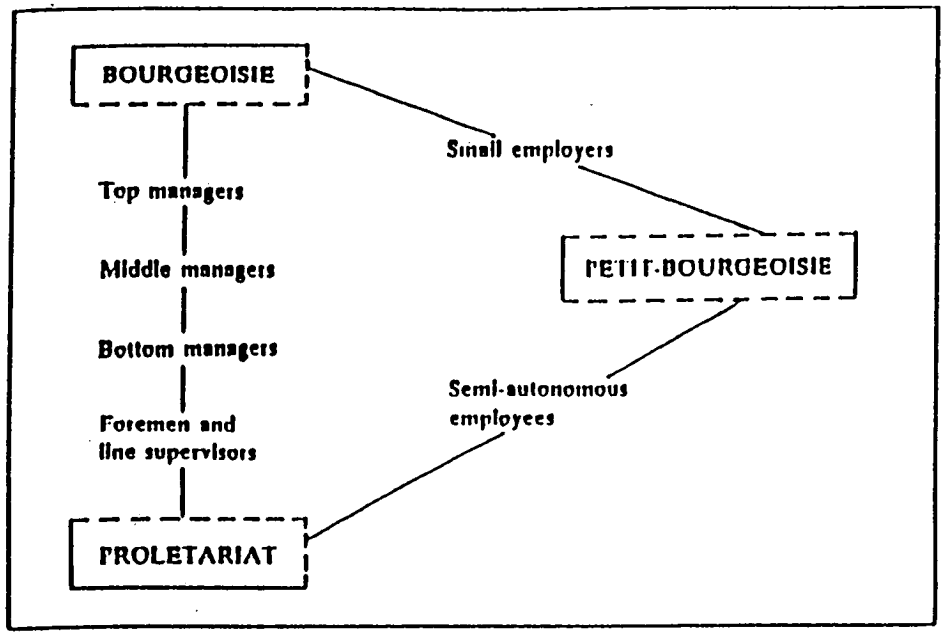


Figure 2.7 Massey's basic framework of social relations of capitalist production
Source: Massey (1984: 31)

Geographers have recently addressed the overall questions of the relations of segmentation and segmentation theory to spatial aspects of labour market theory. Peck (1989a) observes that although local labour markets differ significantly in composition, with different occupational and industrial profiles, whether they actually operate in locally specific ways is not substantiated. While it has become basic to the locality approach, the local labour market has had little definition. Is a local labour market merely a spatially bounded unit in empirical studies of the labour market? Peck assesses journey to work areas as the basis of the concept of the local labour market; problems of delimitation have often led to pragmatic decisions, in a trade-off between self-containment and internal cohesion, so that the local labour market was often synonymous with a town or a city-region. The fact that differing social groups have different travel patterns compounds this problem of spatial delimitation, and statistical averages have little relevance to special groups such as women using public transport or professional workers. Peck considers that the theoretical flaws of journey to work areas as the basis for local labour markets are even greater than the empirical ones; it is an example of container type thinking about space, not embodying any conception of the role of spatial structures in shaping labour market processes or outcomes. There is no questioning of whether and if so how local labour markets operate in locally specific ways. Moreover, the role of segmentation is not taken into account but there is an implicit assumption that spatial proximity has a role in the process of labour market competition:

> [i]ndeed the travel-to-work area could be regarded as an image of this atomistic, perfectly competitive model projected directly onto space ... Spatial proximity in isolation does not exert a major, independent influence on the process of labour market competition (Peck 1989a: 44).

Segmentation can override spatial proximity; spatial proximity may permit competition but whether it takes place will depend on segmentation (Peck 1989a).

Peck (1989b) summarises three groups of key influences on the process of segmentation. The first of these is the influence on segmentation of labour supply: this includes the role of the household division of labour in shaping labour market participation patterns; the stigmatisation of certain social groups as 'secondary' workers; the processes of occupational socialisation; and the influence of trade unions (and by implication professional associations) in restricting the labour supply to certain occupations. The second is influences on segmentation arising from labour demand: this group includes the technical requirements of different labour processes; the stability characteristics of different product markets; the labour process control strategies utilised by employers; and the effects of industrial structure. The third group of influences is the activities of the state such as the structure of the welfare, education and taxation systems, and participation in the training system. The causal processes associated with these combined influences are responsible for variety in structures of local labour markets under particular spatial-temporal conditions (Peck 1989b).

Early segmentation theories represented a break with tradition as they drew attention to the fact that the market mechanism itself can be a source of inequality. The channelling, however, of entire social groups into segments came to be regarded as oversimplification; the segmentation of labour supply does not match with demand - for example, patriarchy predates capitalism, but present-day employers can take advantage of gender divisions and so perpetuate female subordination in the labour market. The more sophisticated concepts including multi-causal determinants which developed contained the important idea that the demand and supply sides are relatively autonomous (for example, Humphries and Rubery 1984). The structure and dynamics of the supply side (or the sphere of reproduction) do not mesh conveniently with the demand side (or sphere of production) in response to wage signals. Labour demand is undoubtedly one of the factors which influence the amount and type of labour that is supplied to the labour market, but factors such as the structure of the domestic division of labour and the nature of the state welfare system, as well as demographic conditions, also exert considerable influence. The wage mechanism of orthodox economics, mediating between demand and supply, is supplemented by such phenomena as internal labour markets, collective bargaining by trade unions, and above all the state. The state acts through management of conditions surrounding non-participation in the labour market, such as changes in eligibility for welfare payments or student allowances. A significant point for contemporary Australia is

that institutional forms of training can be a strong influence on the skill change process, and can become fossilised and therefore develop into problems as society and politics change. The political credibility of state policies is also important, and state institutions tend to develop a momentum of their own (Yeatman 1990). Not only does much of this synthesised viewpoint illuminate current practices in Australia, but these recent developments in segmentation theory have played a significant role in undermining spatially contiguous conceptions of the local labour market.

Peck's conclusion is that labour market segmentation does not have a clear spatial expression. Segmentation undermines the coherence of local labour markets, but the supply of labour remains idiosyncratic and place-bound, and so labour markets are both segmented and locally constituted. Of particular relevance to this thesis is his statement that:

> Attention should be therefore focused in local labour market research on the ways in which the *particular local intersections* of labour supply, labour demand and the state's regulatory infrastructure are revealed in the form of concrete outcomes. Because labour is mobilized at the local level, the matching process between labour supply and demand is also constituted at the local level. While the broad contours of labour market segmentation may be revealed in all local labour markets ... the detailed way in which labour supply meshes with labour demand (and the mutual-conditioning which inevitably follows from this) must be understood at the local level. Then there is a strong argument for phenomena such as the distribution of labour market disadvantage ... to be studied at the local level (Peck 1989a: 53).

It is also necessary in Peck's view to study aspects of the regulationist term *structured coherence*, factors which serve to 'knit together' these highly segmented local structures, and to explore carefully the different ways in which local conditions impinge upon different segments of the labour market. The degree of spatial variability in some segments of the labour market may be greater than in others, implying that variations exist in the extent to which different segments of the labour market have their roots in local conditions (McArthur 1989). This would require a rethinking of the impact of space on labour market structures and processes:

> [t]he significance of space in this conception lies not in the notion of the internally homogeneous travel-to-work area, but in its influence upon the manner in which diverse causal processes which are associated with the labour market are revealed in different places (Peck 1989a: 55).

This proposed mid-level theorisation of the local labour market thus shifts emphasis from delimitation issues to the processes by which labour markets are territorially produced and reproduced.

Morrison (1990) responds to Peck's contextual approach with a carefully reasoned critique which at first reading appears relevant but perhaps contains too much of an essentialist viewpoint to be useful to this study. He summarises his argument in four main points:

> 1. Segmentation theory has to be carefully separated from simple notions of segmentation as differentiation. Merely referring to the fact that local labour markets are differentiated is not the same as understanding the role that segmentation theory plays in comprehending their operation.
>
> 2. The essential feature of segmentation theory is that returns to investment in education (including on-the-job training) are not spread evenly over the population. Early segmentation theory focused on the job and its institutional context as the major discriminator between those in primary and secondary jobs. More recently, attention is being paid to the interaction between characteristics of job seekers, the unions and the way the access of certain groups to jobs is influenced by union and state labour practices.
>
> 3. Geographic questions have played little part in writings on segmentation theory. The local and spatial conceptions are both based on the concept of the enterprise or firm and are spatially circumscribed by its labour catchment area. The local is defined by the labour catchment area of the enterprise, the spatial being defined by that set of local labour markets from which the multilocational firm draws labour. The regional labour market is defined by the collective labour catchment or commuting area of all firms operating within a functional urban area.
>
> 4. The different conceptual base of each of these terms used by geographers influences the way in which segmentation theory can be used. Segmentation is defined at the regional level by the presence of differential earnings functions rather than simply by different proportions of primary and secondary labour. At the local and spatial labour market levels however it is defined by the internal labour practices of the firm itself (Morrison 1990: 517-518).

In the course of producing this summary, Morrison seems to have slid away from something he defined earlier which may be important to the present study. In the course of the argument, the local is defined by the labour catchment area of the enterprise or group of small enterprises while the summary in using the phrase 'the concept of the firm', moves closer towards neoclassical abstraction in points 3 and 4. Although this may be helpful in formulating general theory, in terms of investigating a non-metropolitan area it presents difficulties. The concept of the firm and its internal labour market practices appears applicable to the multinational subsidiary which is the major employer, to the local branches of multilocational businesses such as banks, and to state enterprises such as the Department of Education and the Arts in relation to local recruiting policies. It possibly can be applicable to the handful of small local manufacturers but it seems irrelevant to the heterogeneous group of small employers with one or two employees and the self-employed whose current decisions have been not to hire out their labour directly but who are all part of the local labour market. It is possible that this is compounded by a tendency which can be seen in much writing on labour markets, that it is implicit or explicit that the discussion is confined to urban areas (as in point 3 above and Morrison 1990: 511).

The clarification of the three types of labour markets and the warning that 'the wish to direct attention to the fact that the labour market experience of individuals differs in many ways is not the same as presenting a reasoned theory for that difference' (Morrison

1990: 489) are germane to this study. Spring Bay, in Morrison's definition, is a local labour market coterminous with a regional labour market, and includes an element of a spatial labour market for North Broken Hill Peko in its multi-locational strategies, although these are perhaps more related to access to a resource than access to cheap labour.

2.2.5 Non-metropolitan labour markets

Very little has been written about rural labour markets but they are thought to be characterised by a particular local conjunction of working class quiescence, petit bourgeois ownership of local capital, small enterprise sizes and patterns of segmentation based upon divisions between the local working class and an upper middle strata 'service class' (Bradley 1984). Commuting distances to urban areas keep them relatively isolated from urban labour markets. Low wages, freedom from trade unions, lower energy costs and industrial development incentives are frequently mentioned as causes of changing patterns of rural development but virtually no in-depth studies of rural labour markets have been made. Alternative frameworks of explanation are usually taken to be the wages competition/human capital approach which argues that employment and earnings are largely the result of competitive adjustments made by employers and workers. Another view sees competition as modified by unions, wage regulation and custom. There is a strong influence deriving from work on urban labour markets, but the economic structure of rural areas differs markedly, as employment is in agriculture, with its unique characteristics, as well as in the production and processing of resource-based goods, in light or craft industry and often in small scale establishments. Labour market participation rates as well as wages appear to be lower. These, added to intangible differences in values and attitudes, together form a distinct set of characteristics (Doeringer 1984).

In studying rural areas in Maine, Doeringer suggests that what appears to set these rural communities apart from urban communities is an economic structure with three principal characteristics: the presence of only an occasional large firm, paying substantially higher wages; small firms paying near the minimum wage; and widespread opportunities for informal employment, a point expanded by Felt and Sinclair (1992) in a study in Newfoundland. Although there are some differences, Doeringer's account has much in common with the study area of this thesis, to the extent that it can usefully form a basis for comparison. It must be noted, however, that discussion in the Maine study is largely confined to manufacturing, and there is little mention of agriculture or of employment by the state.

The principal or large employer had characteristics common with urban employers. There were high wages (two to three times the starting pay in other local companies), good promotion opportunities, working conditions and fringe benefits. The labour was unionised and labour relations traditional in the form of collective bargaining agreements; during

contract or grievance disputes, both sides perceived themselves as adversaries. Wage policy was generally set by the company outside the community and there was no flow-on to other wage-setting in the area; other firms set their own wages as if the major firms did not exist. Most large firms had located there because of resources such as timber, and there were few economic linkages to the local community. Other than employing labour, providing wage income and paying taxes they had little direct influence on the locality. New employees were picked from a pool of applicants on a trial basis and differed little from the general labour available in the area.

In contrast, the employment practices of small firms in the Maine study differed clearly from similar work situations in urban areas. Wages paid were at or near the legal minimum, fringe benefits if they existed were rudimentary, working conditions were often unpleasant and the pace of work tended to be pressured. There were few promotion opportunities, and the plants tended to be non-union or to have non-militant unions. Labour-management relations, however, differed markedly from equivalent firms in urban areas: workers tended to identify with goals of the company and were loyal and committed to the employers, willing to stay late to finish a job, work an extra shift, or work at weekends. The labour turnover was low and workers laid off returned to employers after a period of unemployment or other, perhaps casual, employment. There was an element of reciprocity; employers would undertake to rehire laid off workers and give preferential employment to relatives of workers; employers would often help in emergencies, for example giving time off without pay in family crises. Such action was at the discretion of the employer as a return for loyalty but the relation was well understood by workforce. The implications of such paternalism are of considerable interest, not least because it provides an element of flexibility not available to the major employers. The causes of it, however, remain to be explored.

Doeringer's treatment of informal activities incorporates casual and seasonal employment and self-employment on the basis that the boundary line between hobby, production for home consumption and paid employment is vague and that the opportunity for self-employment in rural areas, particularly for men, often blurs the dividing line between working and not working. Despite this there is general evidence of underemployment and the existence of local labour reserves.

2.2.6 Interim summary

What principally emerges from the labour market literature which is pertinent to this thesis is the importance of segmentation in all its various forms: the fourfold model in Figure 2.4; the effects of factors such as ethnicity and class and particularly gender within it, tied to occupational stratification; and the significance of specific manifestations of segment-ation in non-metropolitan areas. Doeringer's key concept is of the relations within the local labour market of segments, one of which operates in an urban and

and indeed a national manner, one within a locally recognised paternalism and one incorporating the spectrum of opportunities for self-employment, seasonal work and informal activities. This meshes with Peck's view of highly segmented local structures and the need to investigate what factors of structured coherence integrate them and how the various segments are differently rooted in local conditions. In turn this feeds into Massey's more abstract concept of the relations between the local and the global implied in a global sense of place.

Attention now turns to what is in a concrete sense a particularly local phenomenon, informal economic activities, but which in terms of definition and identification has provoked a worldwide and multidisciplinary literature.

2.3 The literature of informal economic activities

Formal employment and the varied activities which have come to be termed informal are inter-related in the lives of individuals and families as well as in the operation of enterprises and national economies. They also influence and are influenced by the character of areas. These interrelations among formal employment, the so-called underground economy, and domestic and community activities reflect what a society is prepared to pay for under differing circumstances and what has an economic value but does not command a wage. Together they make up 'all the work which is necessary to keep society going' (Allen and Massey 1988: 252) and not just that directly related to production and profit. Any interpretation of these relations and the processes contributing to them is hampered by a proliferation of often contradictory usages of terminology. A case, however, has been made for keeping the debate as open as possible:

> [t]he informal economy is a common-sense notion whose moving social boundaries cannot be captured by a strict definition without closing the debate prematurely (Portes *et al.* 1989: 11).

The literature on informal activities, particularly in western capitalist economies, covers a relatively short time span, dating from Hart's seminal study (Hart 1973). There are many empirical studies, but definition, conceptualisation and analysis are not well developed (for representative collections see Henry 1981a; Tanzi 1982a; Roberts *et al.* 1985; Portes and Sassen-Koob 1988; Pahl 1988a). As far as this thesis is concerned there are certain relevant trends in the literature, some presenting problems. The early empirical studies, and still the bulk of the work, refer to less developed countries (see Rogerson (1985) for a summary of the literature of the first ten years), and therefore in most cases to a sub-mode of capitalist production in which relations between developing capitalism and traditional non-market production are crucial. How far the theorisation based on these studies, and on the growing number of studies referring to now ex-communist economies, especially in Eastern Europe (Grossman 1982; Sampson 1987; Sik 1988), is

applicable to modern western capitalism is still far from clear.

Research into formal and informal activities has been undertaken in various disciplines and countries; part of the reason for this wide interest in informal activities is the general implications in a broad range of economic, social and fiscal issues. Mingione comments that

> the origins of the present interest in non-monetary or informal activities are particularly difficult to reconstruct as they are complex and non-homogeneous (Mingione 1987: 315 note 1)

and refers to the seminal work of Polanyi (1944, 1977) in studying what he termed the social economy. The same might be said of Braudel's work on what is translated as the structures of everyday life (Braudel 1981). Informal activities (excluding domestic and communal) were thought by some scholars to be transitory, a consequence of the imperfect penetration of modern capitalism into less developed regions and peripheral economies (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987), a view which has a bearing on this thesis. By others, however, they are regarded as durable, pervasive and flexible, with the basic question how informal activities are or should be treated in relation to the conditions of those involved in them, to social institutions, and to the mainstream economy (Miller 1987). Gershuny (1979) observes that governments have the choice of ignoring, suppressing or exploiting these informal activities while other studies emphasise the need for realistic economic policies and for overcoming the damage resulting from the artificial separation of economy from society (Miller 1987; Waring 1988; Ironmonger 1989).

2.3.1 Problems of scope and definition

The term 'work' is used in so many different ways in both the literature and in everyday life that to minimise semantic confusion it will, as far as possible, be avoided except in quotation.

Studies have been and still are hampered by lack of agreement on terms (Connolly 1985), even at the basic level of whether separate economies, separate sectors of the economy or interacting activities are under discussion (Tucker 1982; Carter 1984). The first studies of informal activities in western economies were much influenced by neo-classical economics and leant heavily towards the so-called black, hidden or underground economy, including 'moonlighting', 'off-the-books' and illegal activities (Henry 1978, 1981b, 1982; Alden 1981; Feige 1981; Fisher 1982). Emphasis has been on problems of measurement, both of what is measurable and what has been defined as being economic (Gutman 1977, 1978; O'Higgins 1980, 1982; Fisher 1983; Frey and Pommerehne 1982; Frey and Weck 1983; Kenadjian 1982; Smith JD 1987; Waring 1988; Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990), and on tax evasion and the relation between the putative size of the hidden economy and levels of taxation (Tanzi 1982b; Norman 1985; Shand 1988). This early emphasis has continued as an identifiably separate thread, of more immediate significance to administrators than to the present study. Recent work, however, relating to the effects of increases in

unemployment and the growing crisis in the welfare state is of more relevance even though its underlying philosophy may differ from this thesis. (Heinze and Olk 1982; Standing 1986; Thomas 1988).

Feminist critiques, both marxist and non-marxist (Beechey 1978; Cockburn 1981; Walby 1985a,1985b,1986a; Redclift 1985; Finnegan 1985; Baldock and Cass 1988), have been influential in the area of informal activities, especially in relation to the following: patriarchal relations in the family and in employment (Walby 1983, 1986b, 1990; Cockburn 1983, 1985; Middleton 1983; Friedmann 1986a, 1986b); the importance of unpaid activities in production, in the reproduction of the workforce and in community welfare (Cass 1981; Bradley 1986; Mingione 1985, 1987); and the circumstances leading to the participation of women in the 'underground sector' (Hoyman 1987). The feminist influence has also extended to the specific and often almost atheoretical surveys, some of them government initiated, of employment opportunities for women in various circumstances in relation to their other responsibilities, locality, age, occupation, qualifications etc. Recent Australian examples of these are Baxter *et al.* (1988), Tassie (1989) and those published by the Office of the Status of Women (Australia, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 1988, 1989), and the Women's Adviser's Office SA (South Australia, Department of Premier and Cabinet 1988).

Of particular interest to this thesis is the growing body of more analytical literature examining the links, whether of competition, dependence or interdependence, between formal and informal activities (Anderson 1987; Ferman *et al.* 1987; Miller 1987, Portes *et al.* 1989), and links between informal activities and the state (Weiss 1986), questioning the place of informal activities in labour market segmentation theory (Pahl and Laite 1982; Van Geuns *et al.* 1987) and analysing the motivation and degree of choice of those moving in and out of informal activities (Lozano 1983; Villeneuve and Rose 1988; Rutherford and Wekerle 1988; Huxley 1989; Walker J 1989). A brief historical review of the development of the concepts of formal and informal activities is necessary to put the terminology in context.

2.3.2 Development of the concepts of formal and informal activities

Hart (1973) first used the term 'informal economy' in discussing some research carried out in Ghana for the International Labour Organisation, drawing attention to urban activities which were economic but outside conventional employment. This was followed by numerous case studies in Third World countries, some such as Birkbeck (1979) demonstrating hidden links between informal and formal activities. The general conceptualisation of formal and informal which developed was very similar to that of primary and secondary labour markets in developed economies, and unfortunately the term economy was added on to formal and informal implying that there were two separate economies in operation. There was additional confusion between commercial and

subsistent activities, as studies began to include subsistence agriculture in the informal sector, while some of the urban activities were demonstrably commercial.

Harrison, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was one of the first to suggest the importance of informal activities in western economies; he conceptualised the irregular economy as part of the structure of urban labour markets, using the term to cover illegal and quasi-legal 'work' Fig. 2.8).

Sociologists Gershuny and Pahl (1979) in their seminal studies in Britain included unpaid household work in informal activities and put forward the idea of self-provisioning, extra work of the do-it-yourself variety (DIY) and also added, in Pahl's surveys in the Isle of Sheppey, non-essential domestic activities such as baking, dressmaking and jam-making, where commercial alternatives are readily available. Gershuny and Pahl proposed a threefold conceptualisation of a formal economy, an underground economy and a household or communal economy emphasising the possible six transformations of activities from one economy to another, by processes such as commodification and technological and social innovation (Fig. 2.9). Gershuny (1983) increased this to the four areas of formal, household, communal and underground, with twelve transformations possible. Mingione (1987), an Italian sociologist, suggested a different fourfold conceptualisation of formal/market, informal/underground, state and communal/household, also

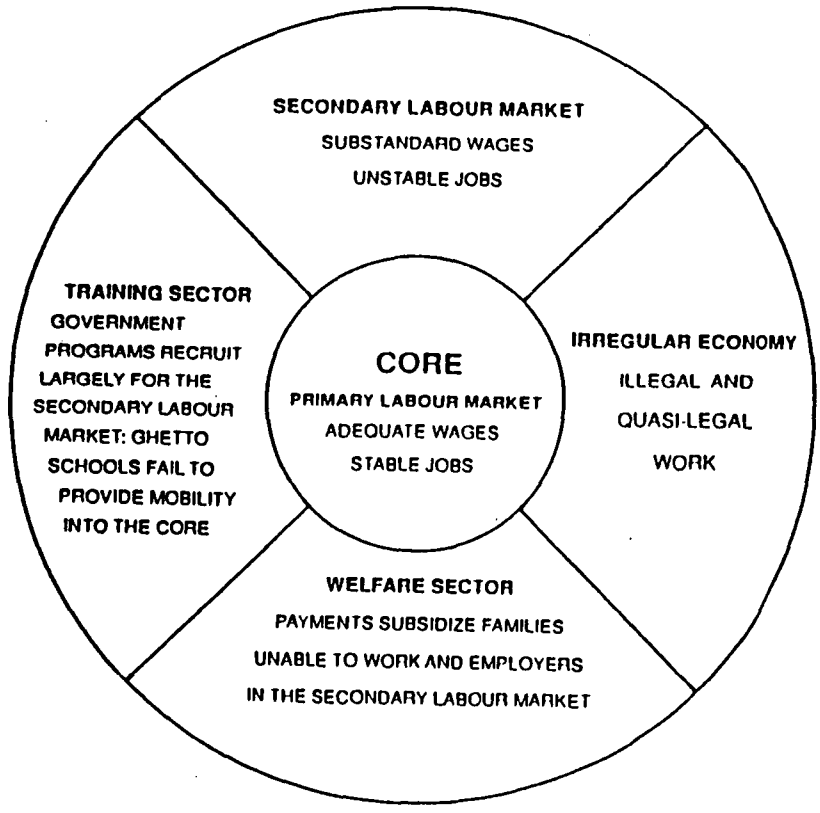


Fig. 2.8 Harrison's structure of urban labour markets
Source: Harrison (1978) in Blakely (1989: 29)

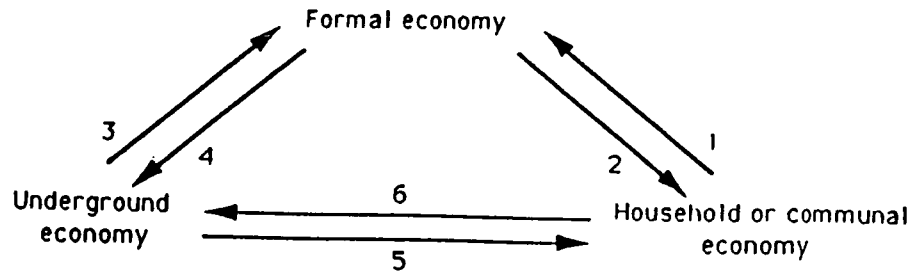


Fig 2.9 Gershuny and Pahl's six transformations
Source: Gershuny and Pahl (1979: 127)

with twelve possible transformations, and in doing so complicated the use of 'informal' by restricting it to 'underground'.

Other economists took a different interest in this recognition of a group of activities, variously called black, hidden, cash, unofficial, irregular, subterranean and underground, which were unmeasured by the state, and were thus untaxed. Feige in Britain distinguished between observed and unobserved sectors, dividing the unobserved into monetary and non-monetary:

> This unobserved sector (or as some may prefer, unmeasured, untaxed, unofficial sector) includes all economic activity which, because of accounting conventions, non-reporting or under-reporting, escapes the social measurement apparatus, most notably the GNP accounts (Feige 1981: 205).

In Australia Carter (1984) reduced any developing consensus on terminology to chaos by naming the whole of the non-measured sector the hidden economy, divided into the underground economy (which authorities would like to measure but which eludes them) and the informal economy (household/domestic, which authorities do not aim to measure). This idiosyncratic model is shown in Fig. 2.10.

Wallace and Pahl (1986) in Britain proposed a division of informal activities into four types: self-provisioning or work done by members of a household with their own tools and in their own time for themselves; 'working on the side' or work outside formal employment for others, outside the household, which is remunerated; work done for others outside the home that is not paid for in money but is repaid in favours or in kind; and work outside the household to obtain food or materials without involving anyone else, or without necessarily being illegal. In, for example, the collecting of firewood, the first and last appear to have the possibility of overlap.

Work in the Netherlands added some rationality in an analysis of types of 'black market' activities. Informal activities were defined as:

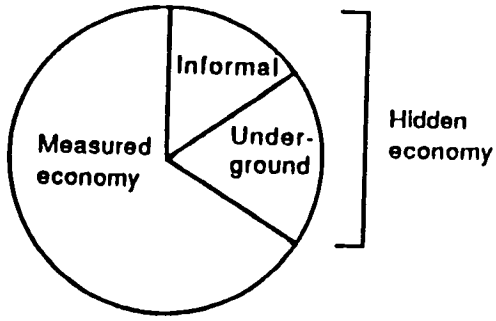


Fig. 2.10 Carter's components of total economic activity
Source: Carter (1984: 210)

> ... those activities which have a positive income effect for the executors and/or the principal, but where the laws or agreements related to these activities are not, or insufficiently, complied with (van Geuns *et al.* 1987: 389).

In fact this definition would be better restricted to what is termed the black market circuit and not applied to the domestic and communal sector, which includes domestic labour, DIY and barter, where informal payments are made or expenditure is saved. The black market circuit is conceptualised as being made up of three types of activity, overlapping in some situations: first, linked informal activities, carried out by an employer or employee of a formal enterprise 'off-the-books'; second, semi-autonomous informal activities, carried out by a third party for the benefit of a formal enterprise; and third, autonomous informal activities, carried out by a private person directly for the consumer.

The question of whether the informal economy is a segment of the economy or the labour force employed in it was raised by Portes and Sassen-Koob (1987) who regarded it as largely one of semantics and resolved it by including in their definition all relationships of production and exchange outside the modern and state-regulated economy. Informal situations are all those with an absence of three characteristics: a clear separation between capital and labour; a contractual relationship between capital and labour; and a labour force that is paid wages or whose conditions of work and pay are legally regulated. Thus defined, the informal sector is structurally heterogeneous and includes such activities as direct subsistence, small-scale production and trade, and subcontracting to semi-clandestine enterprises and homeworkers.

Mingione (1985) linked the concept of formal and informal activities with marxist interpretations of production and reproduction. Building on Gershuny and Pahl's tripartite model, he proposed a sevenfold division of the spectrum of human activities contributing to reproduction: formal; mixed formal/informal; purely informal; illegal; work not exchanged for income; extraordinary work for self-consumption; and normal

I Formal	II Mixed formal/in-formal	III Pure informal	IV Illegal	V Work not exchanged for income	VI Extraord-inary work for self-consump-tion	VII Normal domestic work
	Formal work producing income in part informal	2nd jobs; employment without contract; informal self-employment	Criminal sector; minors' employment illegal immigrants	Reciprocal work; solidary activities	Cultivating vegetable gardens for self-consumption DIY	

Fig. 2.11 Mingione's sevenfold division of formal and informal activities
Source: Mingione (1985: 20)

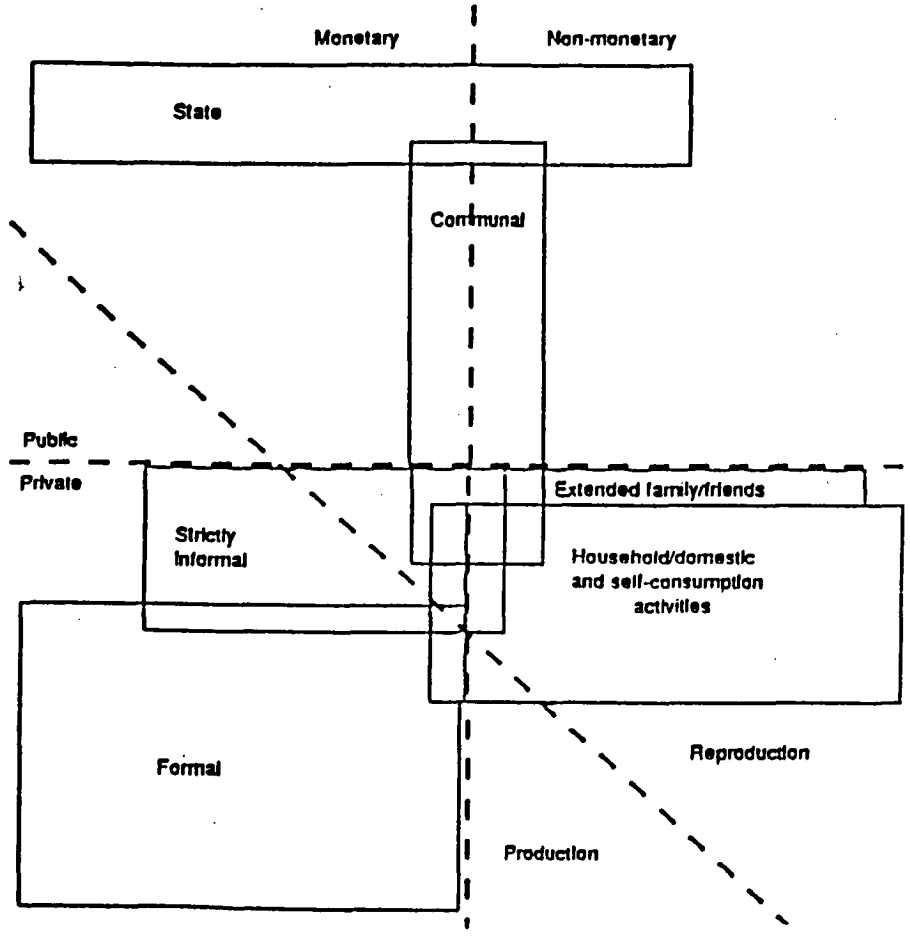


Fig. 2.12 Mingione's urban subsistence resources
Source: Mingione (1987: 304)

domestic work (Fig. 2.11). This was modified in his interesting attempt (reproduced in a simplified form in Fig. 2.12) based on the slightly different premises of urban subsistence resources, to amalgamate in one model the concepts of formal and informal, production and

reproduction, public and private, and monetary and non-monetary. Part of the object of this model was to demonstrate that traditional dualistic interpretations are inadequate in attempting to understand the informalisation processes.

Possibly the most comprehensive definition of informal activities to date, and the one most applicable to this thesis, is:

> ... work activities or economic transactions, paid or unpaid, that occur outside of the conventional market economy and are not regulated, mentioned, audited or counted by any official agency in the society (Hoyman 1987: 65).

Hoyman views the 'domains' of the informal economy as fourfold: a social or communal domain, including volunteer labour for churches, political parties and charities; an illegal domain; an irregular domain (off-the-books) of work activity from the simple to the complex that involves workers who do not report the work, pay social security taxes, or pay income taxes on earnings from customers or employers; and a domain of household-based work activities involving housekeeping, childcare, home repair, maintenance and DIY building activities. Fig. 2.13 summarises not only the different usage of terms but also the variations in conceptualisations in recent literature.

Harding and Jenkins (1989: 52) propose a model which is not fully susceptible of incorporation in Fig. 2.13 since it is based on two axes, formality and informality, and employment and work (Fig. 2.14). The distinction between employment and work is based on a categorisation shown in Fig. 2.15. Harding and Jenkins propose to ignore bonded labour, although other models such as Mingione (1985) incorporate illegal immigrants as an important source of unregulated labour, able to be exploited. The concept of the two axes does allow a distinction to be made between those informal activities which require a relation to formal work and those which are autonomous, but the catch-all category of work does not materially advance conceptualisation. As taxonomic types are inserted in the development of the model (Fig. 2.16) further nebulous areas appear. The conception and placing of corruption, fiddles and crime are puzzling, although they do draw attention to the problem of what is meant by or variously perceived as illegal. The place and problems of self-employment, too, are not adequately dealt with in the model. The crux of the matter, from the point of view of this thesis, comes in the third phase of the model (Fig. 2.17) where the further variable of economic and non-economic activity is incorporated.

Mingione (1987), in discussing whether tendencies towards informalisation are long-lasting transformations or temporary consequences of economic and social crisis, argues that changes in employment are not just the result of economic downturn and slow growth, but also of restructuring and technological change. He views interpretations of the heterogeneous approaches to informalisation, automation and industrial restructuring as

Fig. 2.13 Summary of variations of terminology in informal activities

AUTHOR	CONTEXT	TERMS USED FOR NON-FORMAL ACTIVITIES EXCLUDING DOMESTIC AND COMMUNAL			TERMS USED FOR COMMUNAL/VOLUNTARY ACTIVITIES	TERMS USED FOR DOMESTIC/HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES	
Harrison 1978 USA	irregular economy as part of structure of urban labour market	irregular economy					
Gershuny and Pahl 1979 UK	3 fold conceptualisation including formal	underground economy			household or communal economy		
Feige 1981 UK	formal = observed	unobserved (or unmeasured, untaxed, unofficial)					
		monetary			non-monetary		
Gershuny 1983 UK	4 fold conceptualisation including formal	underground economy			communa	household	
Carter 1984 Australia		hidden economy					
		underground economy			informal economy		
Mingione 1985 Italy	7 fold conceptualisation including formal	mixed formal/ informal	purely informal	illegal	work not exchanged for income	normal domestic work	extraordinary work for self consumption
Wallace and Pahl 1986 UK	4 fold conceptualisation of informal	working on the side			self provisioning		
		paid		unpaid	outside household	inside household	
Mingione 1987 Italy	4 fold conceptualisation including formal/market and state	informal/underground			communal/household		
Hoyman 1987 USA	4 domains of informal	irregular domain		illegal domain	social or communal domain	domain of household-based work activities	
Portes and Sassen Koob 1987 USA		informal situations all defined by absence of clear separation between capital and labour, contractual relation between capital and labour, and a labour force paid wages or with legal conditions of pay and work					
Van Geuns et al 1987 Netherlands		black market circuit			domestic and communal includes domestic labour, DIY and barter		
		linked informal activities	semi-autonomous inf. activities	autonomous inf. activities			

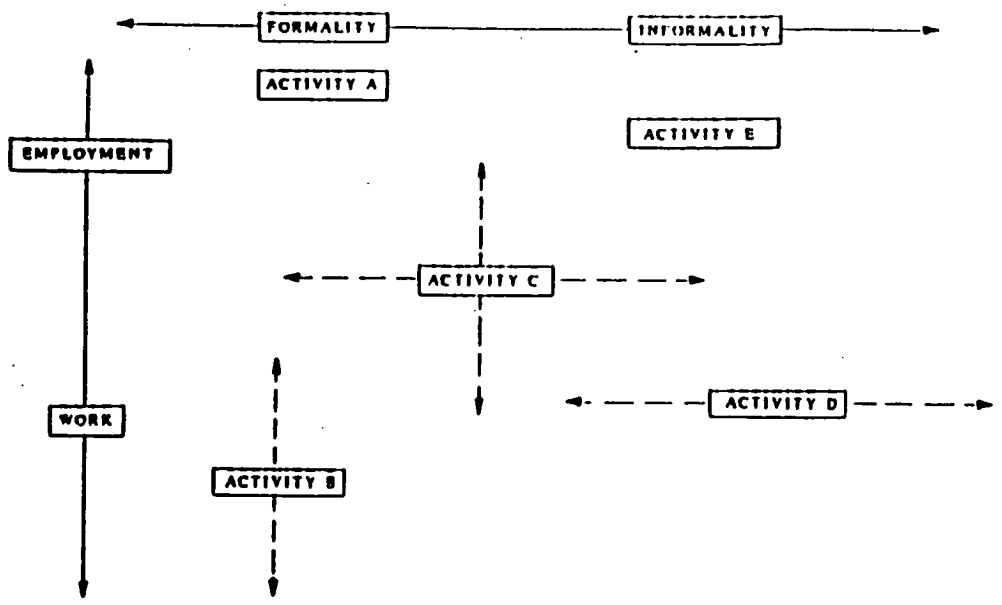


Fig. 2.14 Harding and Jenkins' model of formal and informal economic activity
Source: Harding and Jenkins (1989: 52)

falling into four groups:

1. a technological social innovation view epitomised by Gershuny's (1978, 1983) optimistic work on technological changes affecting the modes of provision of mass-consumption services;

2. a 'small is beautiful' view (Schumacher 1977) in which informalisation is seen as an alternative method of production to the alienating control of corporation and the state - a view which has been developed, some since Mingione wrote, by 'green economists' such as Ekins (1986, 1992) Ekins *et al.* (1992), Ross and Usher (1986), Waring (1988) and Brown *et al.* (1990);

3. an exploitative view in which the relations between informalisation and global capitalism are seen in terms of new forms of reproduction of cheap labour (Bromley and Gerry 1979; Portes and Walton 1981); and

4. a new option of survival strategies for households in industrialised countries in response to unemployment, inflation etc. (e.g. Pahl 1980)

While none of these interpretations may be the entire answer and all may contain partial truths, they have an important common point:

> [t]hey express a radical change as a long-term tendency. It is no longer possible to accept the assumption that, in general, industrial development can be explained by means of an interpretative axis based on the ever-increasing importance of: a) waged labour, differently graded and fragmented at different times; b) organizational patterns of large manufacturing and tertiary concerns; c) bureaucratic apparatuses pre-eminent among which is the nation-state (Mingione 1987: 302).

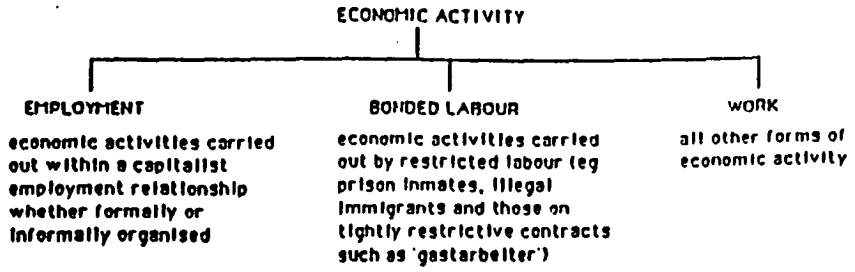


Fig. 2.15 Harding and Jenkins' terms for economic activity
Source: from Harding and Jenkins (1989: 14)

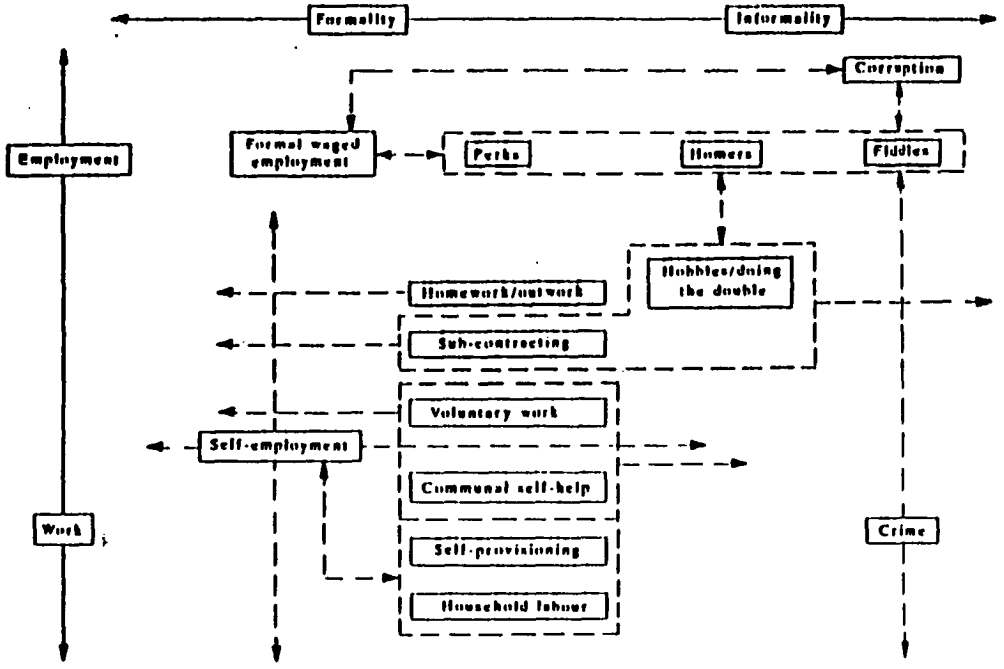


Fig 2.16 Harding and Jenkins' forms of economic activity

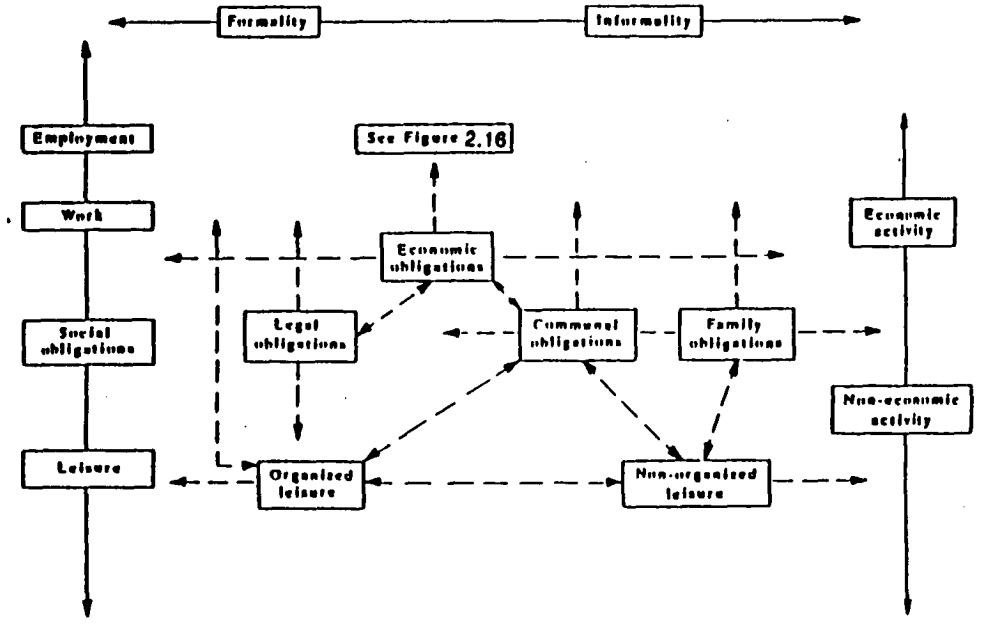


Fig 2.17 Harding and Jenkins forms of non-economic activity

The collapse of this axis leads to problems in 'the interpretative reduction of complexities' (Mingione 1987: 303). An essential stage in such reduction is clarity of definition. The differing and evolving conceptualisations discussed above have sufficient in common for a preliminary and synthetic model to be proposed.

2.3.3 An attempt at synthesis: a proposed model of formal and informal activities

The proposed model (Fig. 2.18) has eight major characteristics:

1. It conceptualises one interlinked economy encompassing all activities and transactions which are 'somewhat economic' (Miller 1987: 35).
2. It uses the individual as the base. It treats the family/household as important but not as the basic unit since it is only one of a series of relational ensembles in which the individual operates.
3. It embodies a twofold division into formal and informal, using the widest of current definitions (Hoyman 1987).
4. It incorporates a threefold division in relation to National Accounts: fully visible and recorded; possibly unmeasured or only partially measured; and not measured by design (based on Mingione 1985).
5. It employs a fourfold division into:
   i) regulated;
   ii) irregular/hidden/black/underground/cash - the principal terms used both in academic writings and by the print media (e.g. Business Week 1978; The Economist 1979; Shand 1988; Dobbie *et al.* 1989);
   iii) domestic; and
   iv) voluntary.
6. It has an eightfold division (which has its origin in Mingione's sevenfold division referred to above) of categories in any, or any combination, of which an individual may be operating in the course of a day or a longer period of time. Some activities such as child-minding may be performed according to circumstances in virtually all categories, a point most forcibly made by Pahl in his analysis of the social relations possible in the act of ironing a shirt (Pahl 1988a: 744-749). The first category, paid employment, covers paid employment within the labour force, including employers, self-employed and wage and salary earners, full-time and part-time in government or non-government enterprises, declared second jobs and legal employment by those under fifteen years of age, such as newspaper delivery. The second category, linked and semi-autonomous informal activities (van Geuns *et al.* 1987), covers formal work producing income which is in part formal, where a source of income but not necessarily the amount of income is detected by accounting procedures, and thus the fiscal system may be partially deprived. It includes unpaid family labour in family enterprises such as shops and farms, some casual and seasonal employment, some forms of homeworking or outworking, cottage industries/petty commodity production, and the range of activities

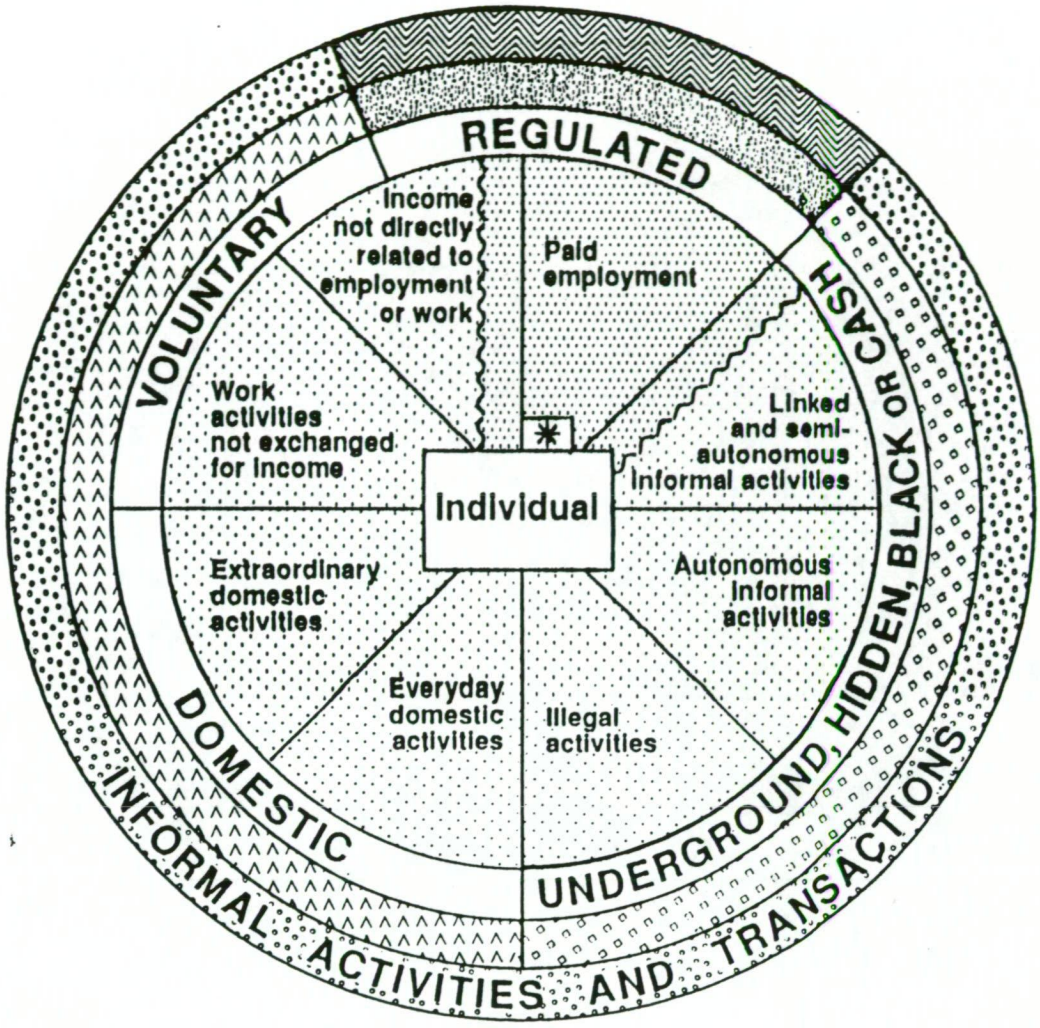


Fig 2.18 Proposed model of formal and informal activities

summed up in the colloquial phrases 'can I have it in cash?', 'off-the-books' and 'a second set of books'. The third category, autonomous informal activities, includes such things as undeclared second jobs ('moonlighting' or 'working on the side'), undeclared self-employment, petty services, some barter deals and recycling. The fourth category, illegal activities, includes traditional criminal activities such as robbery and fencing stolen goods as well as employment of illegal immigrants, illegal work by minors, poaching, drug-dealing, and the grey area encompassed by 'perks' and 'fell off the back of a truck'. The detail of the differences between the fifth and sixth categories will be contingent over space and time, and so the linkage of the two as domestic is important. Everyday domestic activities cover the operation of everyday domestic life and the reproduction of the workforce in the terms both of the bearing and rearing of the next generation and the day to day routine processes leading to members of the workforce returning to their labours fed, clothed and re-created. It also includes caring activities within the home, whether of children under school age, or physically or mentally handicapped family members of any age. Extra-ordinary domestic activities comprise activities which provide goods and services for family or self-consumption: currently in Australia this includes repairs, maintenance and improvement of buildings and vehicles; growing fruit and vegetables, keeping poultry, bees or livestock such as a cow or goat for milk, fishing and obtaining firewood; knitting, dressmaking, preserving and extra baking. It is tempting to generalise that while all of these goods and services can easily be obtained commercially, so also can restaurant or take-away meals and laundry facilities, but normal meals and the provision of clean clothes would probably still be viewed by the majority as part of everyday domestic life. The seventh category of activities not exchanged for income covers both reciprocal activities, such as group building and traded labour, and non-reciprocal activities such as family support, solidary (caring) activities outside the home, community undertakings such as meals-on-wheels, service organisations such as Lions and Apex clubs, and political parties. The last category, transactions providing income not directly related to employment or work activities, is seen as being partly formal and regulated and partly informal and community-based; it comprises income, goods and services from state, public or private agencies, including unemployment benefits, pensions, inheritance and income based on invested wealth, public housing, charity and the benefit of activities of service organisations etc.

7. It shows the field covered by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) definition of the labour force.
8. There is no attempt to make an overall differentiation between monetary and non-monetary income.

2.3.4 Critique of the model

Although a model may contain elements of simplification, it should enable conceptualisation to be taken a stage forward. In a compartmentalised model such as this, attention focuses on the boundaries of the categories. Four groups of issues emerge, related to ABS definitions, multiple job-holding, perceptions of illegality and full-time voluntary workers. All of these issues are of some significance to statisticians and planners.

The category of paid employment is based on ABS categories in which the labour force is divided into two major categories, the employed and the unemployed; the employed are further divided into employees, employers, self-employed and unpaid employees in family businesses. The definition of unemployed varies between the five-yearly censuses and the labour force surveys, but is related to the concept of 'actively looking for employment'. This series of definitions raises several questions. Should unpaid employees in family businesses be made an exception in relation to other unpaid activities as they are in ABS terms or should they perhaps be conceptualised as part of extraordinary domestic activities? Are unemployment benefits to be thought of in the same category as single parent pensions or are they more related to work and thus in the first category? What then would be the conceptual position of school-leavers unable to find a first job? Apprentices are part of the first category, but how are the participants in some of the newer state training schemes to be conceptualised?

The issue of the nature of true self-employment has been discussed by Bromley and Gerry (1979) and Rogerson (1985) who propose a typology in the form of a continuum from stable wage work, through short-term wage work, disguised wage work, dependent work to true self-employment (Figure 2.19). It is, however, more geared to production than service activities. In recent times there has been a growth of self-employment in areas of small businesses such as financial and computer consultancy. Moreover, small business itself is notoriously difficult to define and incorporates self-employed partnerships as well as single individuals, and many small businesses are alleged to operate in the second category, with a substantial informal component possible.

Those designated by the ABS as of marginal attachment to the labour force, within the category of not in the labour force, present a problem to statisticians and economic planners. Contingent upon such issues as the availability or not of childcare, professional care for aged or handicapped family members or transport facilities, some individuals, especially women, move from being categorised as not in the labour force to employed, without necessarily ever being unemployed. In terms of this model, however, caring activities and paid employment appear as part of the nexus of activities undertaken by an individual over a period of time.

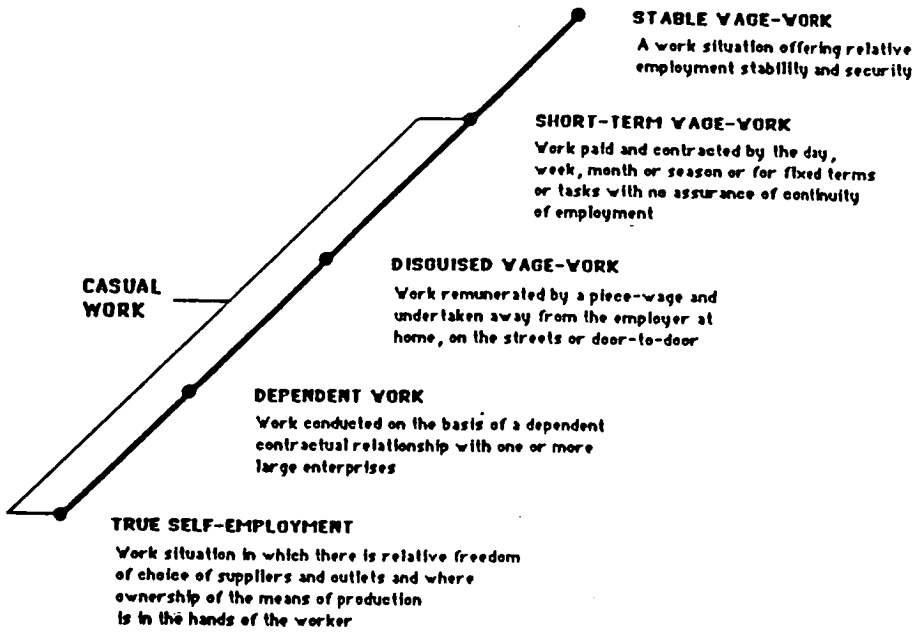


Fig. 2.19 A typology of employment
Source: Rogerson (1985: 30) based on Bromley and Gerry (1979: 5-7)

The conceptualisation of multiple job-holding also presents problems to statisticians and policy makers. It is possible to perform more than one job in a variety of relationships. Second and third jobs may be declared in the census and taxation assessment, when it is part of the first category of legal paid employment. Second and third jobs may not be declared, in which case the situation is often referred to as moonlighting and comes into the second or third category, depending on whether the additional jobs are linked to the first or not. Pluriactivity, a term used particularly in analysis of farm employment, may refer to responses at the level of household and/or family to changing socio-economic conditions by the transfer of surplus family labour into non-agricultural occupations but may also represent a way of life for individuals who put together a series of separate activities to make a living. This concept is discussed further in section 2.4.

It is difficult to make categorical and universal statements about illegal economic activities since differences exist between states and countries, not just over, for example, the legality of prostitution or dealing in certain drugs, but also in legislation on outworking, child labour etc. Perceptions differ too between civil and criminal illegality; many people distinguish between perks, fiddles, 'fell off the back of a truck', 'can I have it in cash?' or poaching, and activities they consider to be really illegal such as a bank holdup. That perception is to some extent accepted in this model, but the question of where to draw the dividing line is not fully resolved. The question of the range of voluntary labour might have been considered earlier along with other effects of ABS definitions but has wider implications. Full-time voluntary workers such as nuns in teaching and nursing orders are not in the labour force according to ABS definitions, but

Domestic Activities	*contd from column 1*
	Other children
Housework	221 Physical care and minding
110 Food and drink preparation, and clean up	222 Care for sick or disabled
120 Laundry, ironing and clothes care	223 Teaching, helping, reprimanding
130 Other housework	224 Playing, reading, talking to
	280 Associated travel
Other domestic activities	
141 Gardening, lawn care and pool care	*Purchasing goods and services*
142 Pet/animal care	310 Goods
143 Home maintenance, improvement and car care	320 Services
	380 Associated travel
144 Household paperwork, bills ,etc	
150 Providing transport for other family members	*Volunteer and community work*
180 Associated travel (n.e.i.)	610 Helping/caring for sick, frail, or disabled relatives
Child care/minding	620 Helping/caring for sick, frail, or disabled other persons
Own children	630 Community activities
211 Physical care and minding	650 Helping/doing favours for others
212 Care for sick or disabled	680 Associated travel
213 Teaching, helping, reprimanding	
214 Playing, reading to, talking to	

Figure 2.20 Activities included by ABS in unpaid household production.
(Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990: 3)

they may be counted in other state statistics which determine levels of funding. This is a contradictory position which the model does not resolve.

A discussion paper (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990) included the following activities in estimates of unpaid household production: domestic activities; child care/minding; purchasing goods and services; and volunteer and community work (Fig. 2.20). The model departs from this schema in separating voluntary or solidary activities outside the home from family care within the home, and also distinguishes the possible relationships under which child care/minding of other children as opposed to own children is carried out. The conceptualisation and study of solidary activities, however, is an area of much debate (see, for example, Arber and Gilbert 1989; Lynch 1989; Parker 1988, 1989), often complicated by implicit assumptions about gender roles and division of labour. Joint state/private activities which use state facilities and voluntary labour do not present a problem, but there are difficulties in relation to some activities, such as fire and ambulance services, which are provided by the state in some areas and by volunteer labour and often voluntary fund raising in others.

Finally, the activities of service organisations pose an interesting question; the model places such activities as informal community activities not exchanged for income, but they may also be conceptualised as related to business activities and linked to corporate images (Boreham 1990).

This derivative model (Figure 2.18) is used as a means of referring to informal activities in this thesis, in investigating the amount of informal activity, what functions it serves in relation to the labour market, who is involved in it, whether the involvement is forced or voluntary (Lozano 1983). and how such involvement is related to restructuring. The double character of informality in the context of contemporary capitalism places it centrally in the restructuring agenda:

> [f]irst, the conventional image of industrial development on which past policies and struggles were based must give way to a new one that reflects a world made more complex by the strategies of owners to reassert hegemony and those of workers to survive and gain autonomy under the new conditions. Second, the regressive features of the process which threaten to do away with decades of social progress can only be reversed by a new contract between the state, business, organized labour, and the new social actors (women, ethnic minorities, youth groups, etc.) (Portes *et al.* 1989: 310).

The next section deals with some aspects of rural geography and sociology which illustrate specific non-metropolitan responses to restructuring.

2.4 Rural literature

Recent developments in the allied fields of rural sociology, rural political science and rural geography have responded to global and local restructuring in several ways. Study of rurality is no longer synonymous with study of agriculture and agricultural systems. On the one hand agriculture is seen as increasingly subsumed into industrialised commodity production; it is influenced by technological change at the farm level and at other points in the food or fibre chain, in which production, processing, marketing and distribution are linked nationally and globally. On the other hand, the development, or uneven development, of rural areas is linked not so much to the diminishing labour demands of agriculture but rather to other uses such as residence, amenity and leisure where the rural is commodified, as well as to industrial production within rural areas: '[r]ural characteristics are getting more indistinct' (Persson 1987: 108). Production is linked in some areas to primary commodities but in others to 'green field' post-Fordist industrial developments. Marsden, Lowe and Whatmore, who have been influential in developing these perspectives, summarise the position thus:

> [r]ural areas, their residents and agencies, are now facing rapid social, economic and political change. The balance between production, amenity, mobility and development is readjusting as economic activities and their dependent relations become relocated (Marsden *et al.* 1990b: viii - emphasis added).

Four concurrent strands in the rethinking are of particular interest: the links between capitalism and agriculture; the development of more sophisticated concepts of multiple uses of farm capital, labour and land; feminist critique of the conceptualisation and

position of the farm household and family farm within advanced capitalism; and the development of theories of rural structured coherence are discussed in turn.

2.4.1 Theorising the links between capitalism and agriculture

During the 1980s important work was done on developing a typology of farm businesses in contemporary British agriculture (Whatmore *et al.* 1987a, b; Marsden *et al.* 1986, 1989). In Britain, farm businesses and farmland remain predominantly owned and managed by individual families, a situation which also pertains in Tasmania. The conceptualisation treats the farm business as a heterogeneous category of labour/capital relations within which family control is continually threatened by the need to make compromises with external capitals (Whatmore *et al.* 1987a). A theoretically based idealised typology of farm businesses is constructed according to the degree of dominance by corporate capital; an ordinal scale of internal relations (farm capital, land rights, business management structure and labour relations) and external relations (credit relations, technology dependence and marketing ties) is linked to the typology. The four 'ideal types' are:

1. marginal closed enterprises, where individual family capital owns and manages the farm;
2. transitional, dependent enterprises, with limited links with external capitals, mainly through technological inputs and credits;
3. integrated enterprises, where links with external capital are actively pursued, reflecting high levels of investment in relation to expansion; and
4. subsumed enterprises where the business has been taken over directly by corporate, non-family capital.

A more detailed account of the typology is given in Whatmore *et al.* (1987a: 32-34), and details of the ordinal scale in Whatmore *et al.* (1987b: 105-8). Farm family strategies for combating this subsumption into corporate capitalism are dealt with in Marsden *et al.* (1989). This theoretically informed approach introduced flexibility into research by integrating interactions between structural processes, represented by the typology, and actions of specific farm businesses engaged in actual production (Marsden *et al.* 1986).

This innovative work later came under criticism at two levels. At a specific level, criticism was levelled at the emphasis given to form of production rather than to the ongoing process of transformation, and at problems of relating empirical realities to the ideal types. This led to criticism at a more theoretical level, when as part of the movement away from structural marxism, the essentialism implicit in some assumptions was queried - especially that all forms of petty commodity production can be explained by one model and that economic explanations are privileged over political and ideological factors (Goodman and Redclift 1986; Friedmann 1986a, b; Marsden 1991).

The continued existence of family farms is seen by many theorists as challenging the ability of capital to transform all class relations into the property/wage relation (Collins 1990). It is difficult to envisage a single body of theory able to encompass this implicit heterogeneity, and attention in the past has understandably been focused on separate strands of the family farm situation, definition, family life cycle in relation to labour supply, the role of farm women and the gender division of labour, and off-farm employment.

Definition of family farms

Family farms (or family labour farms or family worked farms) have been variously defined but definitions usually include three elements: that principals are related by kinship or marriage; that business ownership is usually combined with managerial control; and that control is passed from one generation to another (Gasson *et al.* 1988). Much of the earlier literature is not entirely relevant to the Australian situation, especially in relation to peasant farming and sharecropping. While there is a tendency towards emphasis on small size, it is important to note that 97 per cent of all English farms are regarded as family business in the sense that all business principals, if more than one, are closely related by blood and marriage (Marsden 1991). Such a situation leads to the observation that

> ... [t]he 'family' content appears to be equally if not more important at the upper end of the farm size spectrum. The conventional distinction between 'family farming' and 'agribusiness' is over-simplified and needs to be developed (Gasson *et al.* 1988: 35).

Average farm size has grown during this century in most places, and studies in Europe emphasise the necessity of understanding that in general 'the signals of the market are not mediated by managing directors and accountants, but by farm households' (Bryden and Salant 1990 in Mackinnon *et al.* 1991: 60).

In the past there has been a tension in the literature between an essentialist desire to make statements of general applicability, and an empirical necessity to take into account considerable variety of size, family situation, division of labour and amount of non-family labour. Recent scholarship has moved away from the overdeterminism of structuralism, towards what is implicitly or explicitly a realist approach. In particular, AM Scott's (1986) division into a primary and a secondary level of argument has much in common with a realist necessary and contingent approach (see Fig. 2.21). This clarification of some definitional ambiguities, particularly between simple commodity production and petty commodity production, further allows for the conceptualisation of the household as the possible site of one or more forms of production. Other researchers, however, favour the view that much petty commodity production is integrally part of capitalist relations of production.

MODE OF PRODUCTION:	CAPITALIST	SUBSISTENCE (production for direct use)	SIMPLE COMMODITY PRODUCTION
FORM OF PRODUCTION:	competitive		artisanal *
	monopoly		peasant *
	state		petty commodity production *
	global		informal *

*historically and spatially specific variants

Fig. 2.21 Levels of abstraction in Scott's (1986) usage
Source: Scott AM (1986: 94)

In keeping with these trends towards less essentialist modes of thought, the family labour farm has been more flexibly defined as

> ... the agricultural production unit which is of sufficient economic strength to provide an economic base to a family and whose labour is provided, in the majority, by family members (Friedland *et al.* 1991a: 18).

This allows for a variety of responses in particular to phases in the family cycle and does not restrict consideration to farms only using family labour or those in which no resident family member has off-farm employment. In many cases the prime consideration is to maintain control and pass on a sound business to the next generation. In these circumstances, short-term profitability may be sacrificed to longer-term growth or survival. Maximisation of profit, in any case, may not be the sole objective; power, control, prestige and the desire for a particular lifestyle or even a quiet life may form part of perhaps conflicting objectives (Gasson *et al.* 1988).

Family cycle and role of wives

Nalson (1968 quoted in Gasson *et al.* 1988: 19) simplified the notion of the phases of family cycle to three broad phases. These are the early phase in which all the children are under school-leaving age or there are no children although the farmer's wife is of child-bearing age; the middle phase in which some of the children are of working age, live at home and work on or off the farm; and the late phase in which either all the children have left home or the wife is past child-bearing and has no children.

Similarly, the complex situation with regard to the gender division of labour on the farm and the role of wives in particular can be simplified into three ideal types, as long as these are not regarded as stereotypes. Gasson (1980) identified three such ideal types to illustrate the marked division of labour in farming. The first type is the farm housewife whose interests revolve around the home and who is not expected to work regularly on the farm. The second type is the working farm wife who helps on the farm within an accepted

and clear division of labour. The third type is the woman farmer who works jointly with her partner(s) or manages her own enterprise. This categorisation does not take into account the wife living on the farm who works entirely off-farm, often in teaching or nursing, nor the wife with an independent private income whose degree of choice is perhaps greater. The relation between phase in family life and type of division of labour is not pre-determined and it is important not to make assumptions about the intersections of the two groupings.

The changing needs for income and labour opportunities created by a maturing family may lead to different strategies at different phases. The principal ways of coping are to increase area of land or capital invested (intensification), to substitute family for hired labour and to find other employment for family members (Gasson 1986b). All of these may entail other role changes. For example, a working farm wife may respond to her husband needing to find off-farm work in a period of crisis by adopting the new role of a woman farmer.

This simplification enables family farming to be viewed more flexibly as variations on a theme, variations which are contingent in place and time. The theme itself is conceptualised at a more abstract level as simple commodity production, a form of production which classical marxists held would gradually disappear with the spread of capitalism. In the next sub-section, the reasons for the survival of petty commodity production and family farms are discussed in relation to economic change.

Survival of family farms

There are three related questions embodied in the question of the survival of family farms. The first is how petty commodity production is conceptualised in modern western capitalism. The second is why capitalism has not taken over more rapidly in the sequence of the subsumption model described earlier (page 80). Finally there is the question of what it is about family farms that enables them to persist despite longstanding theories predicting their demise. It is important to distinguish between survival in the sense of not being subsumed into capitalist agriculture and survival in the sense of continuing to provide a living for at least some family members and a place for a continued desired lifestyle for other family members.

Petty commodity production is market oriented production reliant on family labour (Marsden *et al.* 1990a: 3) and persists as a self-reproducing social formation in a world increasingly dominated by corporate capital. The basic conditions for its existence at an abstract level are the existence of a market for commodities, private ownership of the means of production and access to family labour outside the wage labour market. At an empirical level, linkages between productive forms and institutions such as the state will incorporate specific spatial and historical elements (Scott AM 1986).

The term 'arrested marginalisation' has been used to imply that petty commodity production is a residual category, an anomaly which has survived because of its internal resilience (Newby 1987 in Marsden 1991: 17). The most convincing theory for the continuity of petty commodity production in modern western capitalism is the relation between production time (the time in which capital is employed in commodity production) and labour time (the production time during which labour is allocated to creating value). The seasonal nature of the agricultural labour process is such that production time is greatly in excess of labour time. Because of the inability, even with high levels of technology, to close this gap and therefore a lack of concentration of capital, the part of the production stage of food and fibre which is land-based is not greatly attractive to industrial capital. There is therefore an opportunity for petty commodity producers to persist in real terms, not simply as a residual category (Marsden 1991).

Survival models hold that non-wage labour production in agriculture is able to prosper within a capitalist system either because it is protected as a cheap source of labour or because of its social capacities for self-exploitation and reproduction (Gasson 1986b). This approach emphasises the persistence, adaptability and flexibility of the small units typical of petty commodity production and many family farms (Friedland *et al.* 1991a). Much of that flexibility is due to the possibility, outlined above, of adapting the labour needs of the enterprise to the current family situation as well as to economic conditions. Friedmann (1986a) argues that external considerations of the hire and/or sale of wage labour as part of the generation cycle by petty commodity producers does not turn them into either capitalists or proletarians, a theoretical point which had bedevilled marxist discussions. Internal relations are governed by complex mixes of kinship, patriarchy and gender division of labour. The combination of such external and internal relations can give the family farm significant advantages and allow it to avoid subsumption into capitalist relations of production. Underlying these economic advantages, Friedmann argues, is a strong ideology based on two perceptions: on a need to preserve small properties and the patriarchal family, which even if distorted by capitalist and patriarchal relations, constitute participants' only experience of a more humane way of life outside the ruthless world of business; and on the 'progressive possibilities in the self-directed labour of simple commodity production' towards new forms and combinations of work and community (Friedmann 1986b: 55). Other researchers warn against the dangers of becoming concerned with the subjective decision-making of farm families, maintaining that emphasis should be on the social relations that link them to capital (Gibbon and Neocomos 1985: 165 in Collins 1990: 14).

There are, however, other issues concerning the survival capability of family-based farm units. An important one is the increase in the numbers of farmers maintaining their presence in agriculture through off-farm sources of income and the reciprocal effects between this and the labour market.

2.4.2 Concepts of non-full-time farming

Recent developments in rural sociology and rural political economy offer a perspective which proves useful in understanding the variations of employment within households associated with farming and has potential to be extended to all households.

Part-time farming

In the period after World War II, rural sociologists and geographers became interested in the phenomenon of part-time farming (see, for an example of this stage, Fuller and Mage 1976). This growing trend was neglected by statisticians, administrators, politicians, scientists and trade unions because it was difficult to integrate into their classifications, regulations or orientation (Zurek 1986) and, as classed, contributed little to gross domestic product (Fuller 1990). The traditional concept of the male head of a farming household dividing his time between farming and forestry or fishing in, for example, Scandinavia or north-west Scotland, was extended to encompass other and very different situations (Hetland 1986). Male operators of family farms, whose spouses worked the farm while they took manual or white-collar employment off the farm, urban employers and employees who bought hobby farms in commuting areas for the advantages of a country lifestyle, and wives or daughters in farming households who supplemented family farm incomes by such employment as teaching or nursing, possible in rural areas as well as on the urban fringe, were all examined under the heading of part-time farming. There was some confusion over whether the phenomenon being studied was the farm, the farm operator, the farm family or the farm household, and discussion extended to regional variations and putative causes, embracing lifestyle, gender, patriarchy and family cycle as well as type of production, size of holding, farm income and agricultural policies. There was an assumption that part-time operators and their farms formed a separate class, with small units, lower efficiency than full-time farmers, and being at the start or at the end of a career in farming. This pejorative perception has persisted despite research which has shown that an operator with an off-farm job does not necessarily have a farm which is in any other way different from those of the area (Mage 1976; Fuller 1990).

Multiple job holding

In 1984, the Arkleton Trust research program was initiated, both to study changes in European farming related to changes in the European Community's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and to resolve semantic and conceptual problems over part-time farming. The Multiple Job Holding Farm Households (MJHFH) research project focused attention on the farm household and not the farm operator, and by studying 300 farms of different sizes and types in 24 areas of the European Community aimed to come to an understanding of 'the dialectical process between the logics of farm household reproduction and those of the market economy' (Fuller 1990: 364). The household is conceptualised as

> ... a dynamic entity comprising:
> - a constellation of human, land, and capital resources;
> - a locus of consumption, production and reproduction;
> - a set of labour allocations of household members, both on and off the land.
>
> This concept of the household includes the aspirations and goals of individual members as well as the household as a whole (Fuller 1990: 364).

This conceptualisation goes a long way towards resolving some of problems of household studies which focus on the employment, decisions, goals and aspirations of the most powerful member of the household.

Pluriactivity

In the period 1987-1990 further development occurred in this conceptualisation. The term multiple job holding was adopted early in the MJHFH project to cover jobs which were remunerated in the conventional sense of paid employment. It was replaced later by the term 'pluriactivity' to include work activities not necessarily remunerated in cash (which had been termed 'gainful occupations' and later 'gainful activities' in Gasson 1983, 1986a) but possibly in kind or labour; it also allowed for the examination of unpaid work such as domestic labour and voluntary activities. The term 'monoactivity' was applied to households engaged only in farming.

This adoption of pluriactivity in the MJHFH project both reflected and reinforced usage in the literature. In 1986, journal articles and conference papers used either part-time farming or pluriactivity (see, for example, Gasson 1986b; Zurek 1986; Hetland 1986), but since then pluriactivity appears to be dominant, possibly because many writers in the field are associated with the MJHFH project. There remain, however, differences in usage among authors. Some ' ... use the terms 'monoactivity' or 'pluriactivity' in preference to 'full-time' or 'part-time' farming to bring into focus the activity instead of time or income which are the usual distinctive criteria' (Herrman and Uttitz 1990). Hetland (1986: 383) defines pluriactivity as 'the diversification of activities carried out by one household on and off the holding in order to secure the household's economy and welfare'. A return to usage similar to that of multiple job holding is made by de Vries (1990: 423) in 'the phenomenon of farm households engaged in gainful activities in addition to farming'. Fuller, however, explicates the type of gain further:

> [p]luriactivity ... describes a multidimensional land-holding unit, in which farming and other activities are undertaken, both on and off the farm, for which different kinds of remuneration are received (earnings, incomes in-kind and transfers) (Fuller 1990: 367).

Later the term diversification, previously used by Hetland as part of the definition of pluriactivity, was given a new meaning by writers concerned with post-productionist policies. In the context of agricultural overproduction, especially in the European Community and North America, policies aimed to restrain agricultural output, maintain farm incomes and preserve the 'social fabric' of rural areas (Symes 1991). These newly

emerging policies, which have some equivalents in Australia, stress the extensification of farm production, through, for example, 'set-aside' and rural woodland schemes, and the diversification of enterprise structure. This diversification involves the use of the resources of the farm for producing non-agricultural products or services, or new agricultural products which are not in surplus supply (Shucksmith and Winter 1990). This makes more use of the capital and land resources than of farm labour, and is concerned with enterprises such as farm tourist accommodation or catering, farm gate sales, pick-it-yourself schemes, agro-forestry and riding trails, all of which can be regarded as value-added manifestations. On-farm diversification in this sense is only one strategy within pluriactivity.

Campagne *et al.* (1990), reporting some of the French work in the MJHFH project, see pluriactivity as inseparable from the notion of rural development. They usefully distinguish three types of pluriactivity operating in different regions of France: business pluriactivity, the utilisation of surplus farming income in business investment outside agriculture; rural development, or salaried, pluriactivity in which external income is used for modernisation with the object of maintaining farming activity; and pluriactivity for survival in which either the farm becomes pluriactive, utilising on-farm strategies, or the farming family becomes pluriactive by members taking off-farm jobs.

A longitudinal study by geographers in New Zealand (Benediktsson *et al.* 1990) has incorporated the earlier idea of pluriactive farmers being either on their way into farming or on their way out of it into the concept of entry pluriactivity, mid-career pluriactivity, exit pluriactivity and permanent pluriactivity. In a curiously dated phraseology, however, the authors refer to 'farmers' and 'women' despite the fact that husband/wife partnerships are the most common form of ownership. This should be regarded as a warning to anyone wishing to take a stance with as few gendered assumptions as possible; in an Australian context there are 'women farmers'.

Further work in Europe stresses that pluriactivity is essentially an intersectoral phenomenon despite its agricultural origins and most noticeable in semi-peripheral areas (Reis *et al.* 1990; Persson 1990) the latter indicating the 'double-sided dependency on urban and rural resources' in northern Sweden. This insight is part of a more important development, the widening of the term pluriactivity to households in general as 'the multiple formal and informal sector activities of households and household members' (Le Heron 1991: 26). This enables the concept to be extended to pluriactivity as a conceptual link between households in general and capitalism (Pugliese 1991; Le Heron 1991) allowing an examination of how households and individuals are tied in to productive activities in different regional economies and how households may be involved in the labour market as a whole, and not just one sector of it.

This recognition of varied participation by household members raises further questions:

> [w]hile the family divisions of labour and responsibility may be largely dependent upon their participation in different markets, the range of skills amongst family members is crucial to survival and the *sustainability* of family occupancy of the farm. The pool of entrepreneurial, mechanical and physical skills plays an important part in internal power relations (Marsden 1990: 378).

These internal power relations in turn present theoretical problems. Individual economic behaviour may be treated from the standpoint of marxist classes, but it is difficult to treat households in this way without taking a patriarchal stance (see, for example, Poulantzas 1975; Wright 1976, 1989; Carchedi 1986; Becker 1989). To avoid this, two approaches have previously been advocated: one is to treat the individual as the unit of analysis, and to ignore interrelationships within the household; the other is to retain the household as the unit of analysis and somehow to incorporate the woman when she has paid employment (Crompton and Mann 1986; Pratt and Hanson 1991b). Neither of these is satisfactory and the situation has given rise to much discussion, particularly in feminist literature.

2.4.3 Feminist critique

Feminism, like marxism, is no longer monolithic but the study of patriarchy and its relation to theories of domestic work and the gender division of labour in general, have attracted attention across the spectrum of feminism.

Household studies and the concept of patriarchy

Another strand in the rural sociology literature, reflecting parallel work in other disciplines (for example, Wong 1984; Kuhn 1978; Hareven 1990; McDowell 1991), is feminist critique of work based on household or family. This questions the nature of much family decision-making, arguing that the assumed income pooling conceals the fact that it is patriarchal, being hierarchical by gender and age (de Vries 1990). The traditional neo-classical view of the domestic division of labour is that it is

> ... part of a household work strategy in which the interests of the family unit as a whole are best served by this form of specialisation, and in which the individuals rationally and voluntarily engage (Walby 1988a: 15).

As, in this view, women in paid work are often more poorly paid than men because of their lesser human capital, having acquired fewer skills and qualifications and less labour market experience, this provides both a rationale for the gender division of labour and for the lower earnings of women. There is no place here for a detailed review of the extensive literature on the theoretical nature of housework and the subordination of women which underpins the feminist critique; the basic implications are set out by Friedmann:

> The family is patriarchal. Family enterprise is a battleground over patriarchy where property is immediately at stake. Husbands/fathers who

> relax patriarchal domination by choice or necessity face real consequences as heads of enterprise. Women and children are caught in a dilemma, in which the struggle for autonomy and equality conflicts with attachment to property. This is no small matter in a capitalist society (Friedmann 1986a: 192).

Family enterprises and especially family farms, with 'commitment to a constellation of personal ties and property beyond that of wage workers or professionals' (Friedmann 1986b: 53) have been the subject of study in this mode. Whatmore (1991b) sums up current thought in objecting to the uncritical use of the composite concept of 'family labour' on two practical grounds. The first is that it is usually reduced to a narrow concept of labour as contributing to commercial agricultural production and sometimes to valorised work on or off the farm, largely excluding the reproduction of the family on a day to day or generational basis. The second, referring to theorisation of gender relations as contested power relations between men and women, is that using the family as a unit obscures the different and uneven positions of individual members, reinforced by and building on the gender division of labour. A further objection is that many studies in this area take as given the central issue of why it is women as opposed to men who undertake 'reproductive' tasks, and use this fact as a basis of explanation of other things. Whatmore, citing Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel (1981), argues that there is a dialectical relation between social structures and actions through the medium of social practice, and distinguishes between two concepts: gender order, the macro-level historically structured power relations between men and women; and gender regime, the micro-level stage of gender politics in the everyday work practices of individual households. This is more in accordance with empirical experience than the polarised views cited earlier, and indicates a view which allows the existence but not the primacy of patriarchy, a view endorsed in another sphere, that of urban household strategies, by Pratt and Hanson (1991a).

Gender stance

As indicated earlier, this thesis is not intended to be a feminist text *per se*. On the other hand, gender-free writing is impossible because of unrecognised remnants of conditioning. The question is how far is a gender neutral stance possible? Gender issues have emerged in the foregoing literatures in more or less explicit guise over the gender division of labour, both in the household and in occupational stratification in the workplace, in household strategies and in formal and informal activities. A wide literature on gender itself has developed, particularly since the 1960s; while there is no place here for a detailed discussion, a brief comment on major trends will serve to set the present situation in geography in context.

Marxist feminists have criticised classical Marxism for ignoring activities and relations fundamental to existence, by emphasising class inequality and thus concealing gender inequality (Peet 1991). Some advocate a specifically feminist variant of traditional Marxism, while others hold that new analytical categories are needed:

> Marxist analysis, particularly its historical and materialist method, and feminist analysis, especially the identification of patriarchy as a social and historical structure, must be drawn upon if we are to understand the development of western capitalist societies and the predicament of women within them (Hartmann n.d. quoted in Peet 1991: 74)

Three principal models occur in the literature (Walby 1986b: 15-35; Encel and Campbell 1991: 6-10):

1. female inequality is the result of patriarchy, which is the primary form of social inequality (e.g. Millett 1970; Rich 1976);
2. capitalism and patriarchy are intertwined to form a single system of 'capitalist patriarchy' - the fused approach (e.g. Eisenstein 1981; Pringle 1988); and
3. capitalism and patriarchy are autonomous systems which interact in a variety of ways - the dual systems approach (e.g. Hartmann 1979, 1986; Walby 1986a).

In supporting the dual systems approach, Walby points to the tension between capitalist and patriarchal interests in the exploitation of women's labour, and the active role of unions in maintaining job segregation. She distinguishes usefully between private patriarchy which is based on household production as the main site of the exploitation of women's labour, and public patriarchy which is based principally in public sites such as employment and the state. This realist approach summarises contemporary patriarchy:

> Patriarchy comes in more than one form: each form can be found to different degrees. ... Women are not passive victims of oppressive structures. They have struggled to change both their immediate circumstances and the wider social structures. ... [The] major push of [first-wave feminism] ... did not lead to an elimination of all forms of inequality between men and women which it sought to eradicate. ... However, in response, patriarchy changed in form, incorporating some of the hard-won changes into new traps for women. The form of patriarchy in contemporary Britain is public rather than private. Women are no longer restricted to the domestic hearth, but have the whole society in which to roam and be exploited (Walby 1990: 200-201).

There are obviously differences in the forms of patriarchy in different societies. The spatial aspects of gender issues, including patriarchy, are gaining prominence, in such work as Women and Geography Study Group 1984; Massey 1984; Murgatroyd *et al.* 1885; Mackenzie 1986, 1989a; Andrew and Moore Milroy 1988; Hanson and Pratt 1988; Bowlby *et al.* 1989; Fincher 1989, 1990; McDowell 1989, 1991; Bagguley *et al.* 1990; Pratt 1991; and Pratt and Hanson 1991a. Within these it is possible to detect a tenuous movement away from what might be termed the more rabid forms of feminism towards a gender stance which is more equal, towards attempting to treat both genders in the same way, and towards a tentative attitude to patriarchy which admits its existence but not its universality. This is not an attempt to ignore gender differences but rather (to adapt Hanson and Pratt's phraseology quoted earlier) to treat all individuals as fully embedded in the social and spatial relations of family, community and gender.

2.4.4 Structured coherence

Recent work in Britain and the USA has made use of mid-level concepts from the regulationist school, referred to in the discussion of levels of abstraction in Chapter 1 and in section 2.2, to move towards a 'reformulation of the relationship between production and consumption in rural areas' (Cloke and Goodwin 1992: 5). Much of the French and German regulationist literature has not been translated, and any discussion is heavily reliant for background on such exponents as Jessop (1990) and Dunford (1990). The regulationist 'school' is in reality diverse, but contributors share a common marxist foundation, a realist ontology and epistemology and are substantively concerned with the political economy of capitalism and

> ... the changing forms and mechanisms (institutions, networks, procedures, modes of calculation, and norms) in and through which the expanded reproduction of capital as a social relation is secured (Jessop 1990: 154).

Two concepts are seen as particularly useful, the 'mode of regulation', put forward by the French school, and 'societalisation' advanced by the West German school to link the relations of production with the other relations which make up society. A mode of regulation refers to a 'particular stabilised relationship between production and consumption' which ensures 'capitalist reproduction *pro tempore* despite the conflictual and antagonistic character of capitalist relations' (Jessop 1990: 174). Procedures to regulate the stages of the circuit of capital are incorporated in state legislation as well as the networks and institutions of society. Societalisation refers to the means by which capital and state secure societal compliance in the mode of regulation through political, intellectual and moral means. As these procedures operate at different scales and through differing media, there will be considerable local variance in problems, and strategies and processes operating at one scale may conflict with those at another scale.

Cloke and Goodwin (1992) in their exploratory synthesis use Harvey's concept of structured coherence to anchor these abstract processes as ensembles of relations and institutions in particular places at particular times, and to stress that changes in the mode of regulation will necessarily entail spatial changes. In addition, Harvey postulates that specific ensembles of social relations tend to produce a structured coherence which not only covers production but

> ... standard of living, the qualities and style of life, work satisfaction (or lack thereof), social hierarchies, and a whole set of sociological and psychological attitudes towards working, living, enjoying, entertaining and the like (Harvey 1985: 140 quoted in Cloke and Goodwin 1992: 10).

In many rural areas, however, such things as wage awards and welfare provision originated externally in national legislation promoted by socialist groups as part of Fordist relations which were probably at variance with or irrelevant to the local rural ethos. Whatever local coherence had emerged has now been altered in different ways in

different places as rural areas respond to wider processes of restructuring. The emphasis is that 'any progression from one coherence to another is contested rather than pre-given' (Cloke and Goodwin 1992: 15). In the context of Western Europe, and especially of the changes being brought about by the CAP, it may be possible to identify emerging new structured coherences based on new modes of regulation. In the context of Tasmania, where changes are differently mediated and the pace of change possibly slower, it may be more fruitful to identify different groups within an area who have arrived at different accommodations between consumption and production, through different regulatory mechanisms and forms of societalisation, operating within a single area.

2.5 Conclusion

The first section of this chapter sets the context of uneven development theory and particularly the restructuring approach. With its acceptance of a mosaic of unevenness rather than an imposed taxonomy of degrees of peripheralisation, the restructuring approach allows for the identification and consideration of different scales of action by individuals as well as institutions, and the different spatial outcomes contingently resulting from this mélange. The second section illustrates the importance of segmentation theory. The main questions arising are how it operates in non-metropolitan areas and is possibly being modified in flexible modes; the ways in which gender segregation of occupation has arisen and is changing; the relations of restructuring in both the private and public spheres to these modifications; and the effects of all these on individual experience. The third section demonstrates the necessity of providing an appropriate vocabulary and framework at the outset, if any progress is to made in the substantive task of eliciting who engages in informal activities and in what relationships to the labour market and to other individuals and social structures. The rural literature provides three different strands: definitions of family farms relevant to restructuring; the concept of pluriactivity as a means of investigating the links between households and capitalism; and a method of conceptualising structured coherence which allows for the examination of groups in an area which have different production/consumption nexuses and in arriving at these are differentially linked into the local, national and global economies.

Together the literatures offer a theoretical background against which to use the Spring Bay area as a case study of the interactions of abstractions such as restructuring, labour market, informal activity, pluriactivity and gender division of labour in the concrete and contingent circumstances of individual employment and household coping strategies. In Ch. 3 the setting of the Tasmanian space economy of which Spring Bay is a small component is discussed in terms of the relations between employment and restructuring.

CHAPTER 3 THE TASMANIAN SPACE ECONOMY

Ch. 2 presented a discussion of key themes in the literature on capitalist political economy which have a bearing on Australia and Tasmania. From these key themes it is very evident that distinctive combinations of pressures will be pertinent in particular structural contexts. These can be examined at the state and national scales, which are important because they are an appropriate level to intersect the role of the state in the circulation of capital. These scales are the focus of this chapter and the themes are subsequently examined in detail in the context of a specific locality. In this chapter, the past and current state of the Tasmanian space economy is analysed, and important trends and key issues about future development are identified. In the first section, a brief overview of Tasmania's economic and spatial relations sets the scene for an examination, in the second section, of Tasmania's situation during the Long Boom. In the third, the labour market in Tasmania is discussed on the basis of data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census of Population and Housing, 1971, 1976, 1981 and 1986. The 1971 census data are used first to give a view of labour conditions as the buoyant conditions were coming to an end, and this is followed by a review of the changes over the period 1971-1986. In the fourth section data from a systematic monitoring of newspapers and company annual reports are used to outline changes in the Tasmanian space economy during the continuing period of transition since 1986. The outcomes of the same changes operating at a national scale and the interactions with the Tasmanian economy are discussed in the fifth section. The concluding section identifies some preliminary issues for examination at a local level. Places mentioned in this chapter are located in Fig. 3.1.

3.1 Overview of Tasmania's economic and spatial relations

Tasmania, the small island state off the southeast corner of mainland Australia (Fig. 0.1), shares in national problems and has specific problems caused by its size, position, resources, and structural relations with the rest of the Commonwealth of Australia.

With a small dispersed population, still under half a million, and only growing slowly through a paucity of migrants and net and selective out-migration, the Tasmanian economy can only sustain a small number of producers or servicers, which has possibly resulted in lack of competition and consequent problems. It has been difficult to achieve economies of scale, especially as the market is effectively broken up into three regions, the south, north and northwest, a result of both physical geography and the pattern of early settlement. Many scattered small settlements still remain, which add to the cost of delivery of both public and private services. There are many small firms catering for only one of the three regions, and not wanting to expand. Though these may be regarded as

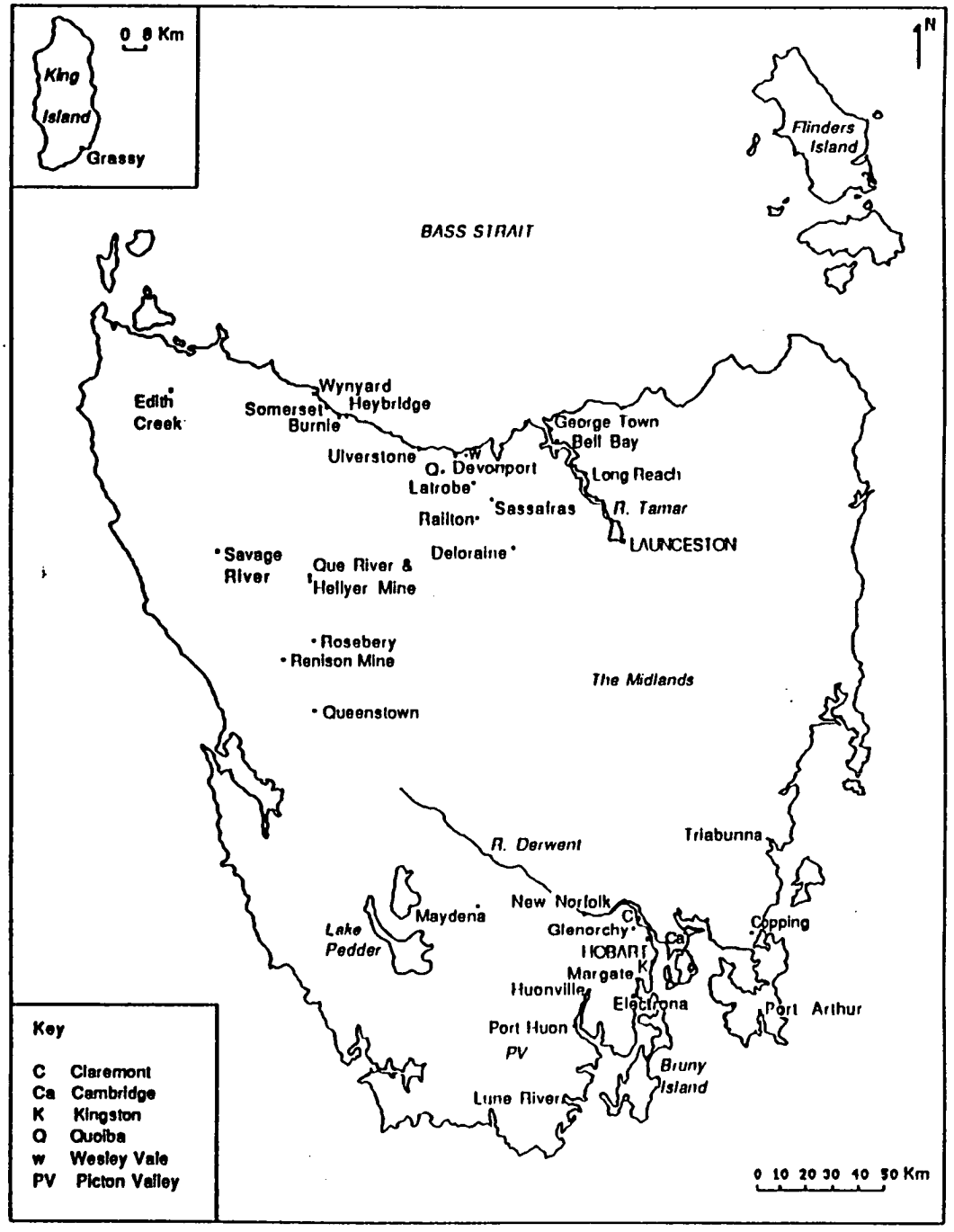


Fig. 3.1 Map of locations within Tasmania

Table 3.1 Tasmanian Foreign-owned Manufacturing and Mining Firms 1990

Country of Parent Firm	Parent Firm	Tasmanian Firm
United Kingdom	Cadbury-Schweppes plc	Cadbury- Schweppes, Cadbury Division Cadbury Schweppes, Drinks Division
	Glaxo plc	Glaxo (poppies)
	Imperial Chemical Industries plc (ICI)	Tioxide ICI Explosives
	Hanson plc	Renison Goldfields Consolidated -Mt Lyell and Renison Mines
	Coats Viyella plc	Coats Paton
	BOC Holdings Ltd	Commonwealth Industrial Gases
	Rio Tinto Zinc (see CRA below)	Comalco, Bell Bay
USA	Johnson and Johnson	Tasmanian Alkaloids (poppies)
	Coca-Cola Amatil	CC Bottlers
	Pickands Mather International	Savage River Mine
	Mobil Corp	Emoleum Ltd
	The Stanley Works	Stanley Works Pty Ltd
	The Robbins Company	Robbins Pty Ltd (excavation equipment)
Canada	McCains Foods Inc	McCains (frozen potato products)
	Cominco	Aberfoyle - Hellyer and Que River mines
New Zealand	Wilson Neill	Cascade Group - Cascade Brewery, Cordials, Fruit juice, Boags Brewery
	Fletcher Challenge Ltd	Australian Newsprint Mills, Boyer (see ANM below)
France	Bongrain SA	Lactos Pty Ltd (cheese)
	Liquid Air SA	Liquid Air Tasmania
Norway	Selmer Sande through Noraqua	Tassal and Nortas (aquaculture)
Switzerland	Sandoz Group	Wander Pty Ltd (Ovaltine)
Denmark	The East Asiatic Co Ltd	Kauri Timber Pty Ltd

Source: Hood (1988) and Industrial Geography Database: Grosvenor and Wilde (1990)

Notes:
CRA: RTZ owns 49% of CRA which is not a majority holding but in effect gives control.
Southern Aluminium Pty Ltd: joint venture between Comalco (51% managing partner), Enkei (15% Japan) and Mitsubishi (15% Japan)
ANM: jointly owned by Fletcher Challenge (50% New Zealand) and News Corp (50%)
Pasminco: 40% owned by CRA and 40% by North Broken Hill Peko.

laggard according to Taylor and Thrift's classification (Taylor and Thrift 1982; Hood 1988), the situation has also been viewed as 60 per cent of employment to some degree protected from competition by isolation (Tasmanian Employment Summit 1989a). The Tasmanian per capita income has long been below the Australian average, with implications for slow accumulation of regional capital and job creation. Another

longstanding problem has been the economic effect of Bass Strait; various freight subsidy schemes addressed the problem of freight costs which lead to higher prices, but the necessity to maintain high stocks because of insecurity over possible strikes remains (Nimmo 1976, Callaghan 1977). The state is further disadvantaged by dependence on coastal shipping, the cost of which is kept high by Commonwealth regulations inhibiting competition (Tasmanian Employment Summit 1989b).

Mining and manufacturing have been dominated by a few large enterprises, and because of conglomerates by even fewer boardrooms. Many firms are controlled by overseas corporations (Table 3.1), and there are also many other non-locally owned firms, with head offices of mining interests largely in Sydney, and of manufacturing interests in Melbourne (Wilde 1980). Ownership has been subject to constant change, profits have left the state instead of generating additional income and employment, and decisions (particularly about use of resources) that affect lives of local people resulted from overall corporate policies not necessarily best for Tasmanian interests.

This dependence on a narrow range of resource-based industries together with a dependence on financial assistance from the Commonwealth Government (Davis 1981) have been longstanding features of the state economy. About 54 per cent of Tasmania's State Government revenue comes from Commonwealth sources (Tasmanian Employment Summit 1989a: 2) and the State has always been susceptible to changes in funding.

In addition the Tasmanian economy differs in composition from the Australian average more than any other state except West Australia, and so is more likely to be differently affected by policies, such as tariff changes, designed to achieve national objectives (Tasmanian Employment Summit 1989b).

3.2 The Long Boom in Tasmania

Tasmania at the end of World War II was badly in need of investment in infrastructure and industries, and the state government set up the Industrial Development Branch to oversee post-war reconstruction. The period from 1946 to 1957 was an important time of population growth: 7 000 non-British migrants, many from the Baltic lands, had settled in Tasmania by 1952, many recruited specifically to work on hydro-electric projects; by 1957, 10 000 assisted migrants had come from Britain; and in 1956-1957, Tasmania's rate of population increase (2.5 per cent) was higher than the Australian average (2.3 per cent) (Robson 1991: 514). After this considerable boost, which provided the initial workforce for reconstruction, there was a decline in immigration, the migration of skilled and qualified Tasmanian born continued and the rate of population growth slowed.

The Long Boom is seen now as the period of hydro-industrialisation, but there were other major sources of employment; mines operating in the private sector in 1960 provided

employment for over 8 000 workers (Robson 1991: 512); and, until changes to preference in the period after Britain's entry into the European Economic Community in 1966, apple and pear growing for export was an important source of employment. The Hydro Electric Commission (HEC), made an autonomous statutory authority in 1944, was, however, important not only as an employer of engineers and construction workers, but as a means of attracting manufacturing industry to the state by the provision of cheap electricity in bulk contracts, along with other government subsidies and concessions. This growth of manufacturing was within the Australian context of long-term tariff protection, transnational corporations establishing local branches behind the tariff wall, import substitution, price stability, a growing domestic market and worldwide stability of exchange rates (Wilde 1981). The era before World War II had seen the setting up of the Electrolytic Zinc Company (EZ) in Hobart in 1916, the carbide works at Electrona in 1918, Cadbury's at Claremont in 1923, Associated Pulp and Paper Manufacturers (APPM) at Burnie in 1939-1940 and Australian Newsprint Mills (ANM) at Boyer 1939-1941. Substantially these companies represented interests from Britain, Sydney and in particular the Collins House group of companies in Melbourne. By 1960, Australian Paper Manufacturers (APM) at Port Huon and the Tasmanian Electro-Metallurgical Company (TEMCO) at Bell Bay, a subsidiary of the Broken Hill Proprietary Company Ltd (BHP), had been added. In 1960, Comalco, eventually with a one-third Tasmanian government holding, was established at Bell Bay, APPM expanded its Wesley Vale operations and there was also expansion in the northwest at the Titan Paint Works (which became Tioxide Australia Pty Ltd in 1972). The fortunes and management decisions of these companies and their relations with the state government have continued to be crucial to employment in the state.

In 1952, the HEC Act was amended to allow the HEC to raise public and private loans instead of securing loan funds through State Treasury. By 1954 secondary industry powered by the HEC was responsible for more than half the state's net production by value and by 1955 consumption was increasing at a rate calculated by the HEC at 10.5 per cent per year. As a continuing effect of the freeing up of capitalisation, by 1960, nine power stations were operating and the HEC employed more than 1 500 staff and almost 2 500 award workers (Robson 1991: 551). The Korean War provided stimulus to boom conditions and by 1951 the average real wage (actual wage adjusted for increases in the prices of consumer goods) had risen by 20 per cent from 1939. In 1951 job opportunities outstripped the workforce and there were 5 000 unfilled vacancies in Tasmania. Nevertheless the working population increased by 18 per cent over the period 1947-1955 and continued to increase (Table 3.2). There was a 64 per cent increase in factory production between 1954 and 1959 compared with 50 per cent for Australia as a whole (Robson 1991: 539). Prosperity and employment largely continued until the early 1970s, with visible expressions of government investment

Table 3.2 Growth of population and labour force in Tasmania during the Long Boom

Year	Population	Labour force
1954	308 752	118 208
1961	350 340	130 917
*		
1966	371 435	147 322
1971	390 413	153 262

* NB break in comparability between 1961 and 1966
Source: ABS Census of Population and Housing, 1954, 1961, 1966 and 1971

in a new State Library, schools, hospitals and a prison, bridges across the Derwent and Tamar Rivers, a new site for the University of Tasmania and two more power stations. Private sector investment continued in the expansion of the Comalco operation at Bell Bay and further paper pulp development, and in many smaller enterprises. For example, 35 new factories were erected in Glenorchy in 1960, and a further 47 in 1963 (Alexander 1986: 284).

There were, however, indications of problems to come, some internal and some the result of increasing links to mainland Australia and the rest of the world. The Hare-Clark system of voting to ensure proportional representation and the existence of five six-member constituencies for the House of Representatives led to six elections between 1946 and 1956 and consequent government instability. In 1958, a decline in world prices of wheat, wool and minerals and competition in world apple markets from growers in Argentina and South Africa were felt locally. In 1962 there was unemployment for the first time since 1939 due to a Federal Government credit squeeze. In addition, the setting up of the State Forestry Commission in 1947, increased activity by the National Parks Board, improved air and sea links for tourists, and the proposal in 1967 for the Gordon hydro-electric scheme which eventually led to the flooding of Lake Pedder, in hindsight can be seen to begin to set the scene for the development of the local conservation movement.

This period of hydro-industrialisation, which was drawing to a close in the early 1970s and the end of which coincided with the first oil crisis in 1973, left the state with '[a] dozen medium sized energy intensive plants ... manufacturing alumina, steel plate, paper and pulp, woodchips,frozen foods, zinc and iron ore pellets' (Felmingham and Rutherford 1989: 413), together using about 70 per cent of the state's energy supply. In the period that followed, the area gradually lost its comparative advantage in energy provision as interest rates and labour costs rose, altering the initial capital investment to running costs equation. The perception of hydro power as a clean, cheap and abundant source of energy was replaced by increasing concern for conserving the remaining wilderness areas and 'wild rivers', and the options for further dam construction became a matter of public controversy.

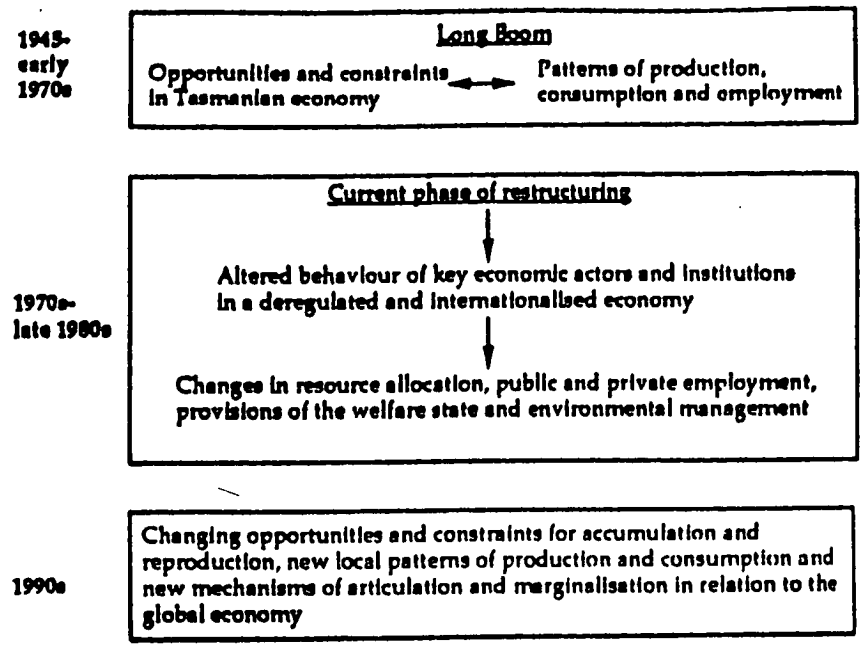


Fig. 3.2 The Long Boom in context

Source: based on Le Heron *et al.* (1992: 9, 13)

In this new economic and social climate, and in a context of increasing deregulation nationally and internationally, the relations between public and private capital were renegotiated, with varied outcomes for job creation, retention and definition (Fig. 3.2). The Tasmanian Development Authority was created as the state's major development agency, absorbing the functions of the Agricultural Bank, the Office of Special Adviser (Development Finance) and the Department of Industrial Development. The implications of the move from hydro-industrialisation are still being worked through in the Tasmanian economy and some of the detail is discussed later in this chapter. First, however, discussion turns to the available data on quantitative and qualitative changes in employment.

3.3 Labour market growth and change in Tasmania 1971-1986

Discussion of the labour market is very dependent on data provided by the Commonwealth statisticians, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Before examining the data it is prudent to be clear about the conceptual framework under which they are collected.

3.3.1 Labour force concepts, sources and definitions

In Australia a situation exists in which a complex model of the labour force embodies the data collecting practices of the monthly labour force sample survey, while the five-yearly ABS Census of Population and Housing, which provides as near as possible a complete measure of the labour force, is using a simpler conceptual framework. In Tasmania there are also the Quarterly Labour Market reports compiled by the Department of Employment and Training (DET), and its successor the Department of Employment, Industrial Relations and Training (DEIRT), and the considerable

publications of the Centre for Regional Economic Analysis of the University of Tasmania. Having regard both to conceptual differences, particularly over rates of unemployment, and to reservations about a sample which is more reliable in large states than small ones such as Tasmania, the following discussion is based principally on census data. These provide a consistent comprehensive view and can be used with confidence within identified limitations. Census data are only available five-yearly, with inevitable delays in processing and publishing; some categories depend on the declarer's perception, as for example, principal occupation; and there is the problem of data 'not stated' which has been dealt with here as seemed appropriate in different situations. Census data are, however, especially useful at the level of regions within the State, where no Labour Force Survey data exist, particularly since employment and access to employment are constituted at a regional level.

Previous theoretical discussion of labour market segmentation in Chapter 2 indicates that there is little value in the 'persons' data except at the broadest level of treatment and that a division by gender is essential. Unless otherwise stated, the tables following are based on data supplied by the ABS to Dr PD Wilde of the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Tasmania. They are in the small area data format, of differing scope for the various census dates, and also disaggregated into regional labour markets delineated in 1971 on then current perceptions of journey to work areas (Fig. 3.2). This has provided time series at a regional level, although transport changes over 20 years suggest that an amalgamation of some of the original areas (O'Connor and Gordon 1989) and a conceptualisation of others as a series of very local labour markets would be appropriate.

The introduction in 1986 of the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO), replacing the Classification and Classified List of Occupations, has meant that comparisons of occupational structure are not feasible over the time period. An empirically derived quantitative conversion system was developed by the ABS, but in small states raises doubts even at the level of State and persons, and would not be applicable at the level of disaggregation of gender and region. The new classification, however, is a significant advance, being based on an improved conceptualisation of occupation with criteria of qualifications, skills and job descriptions, much more in keeping with segmented labour market theory.

No use is made in this review of unemployment rates. The unemployment rate is normally calculated as the unemployed (differently defined in the Census and the Labour Force Survey) as a percentage of the labour force, that is of the total employed and unemployed.

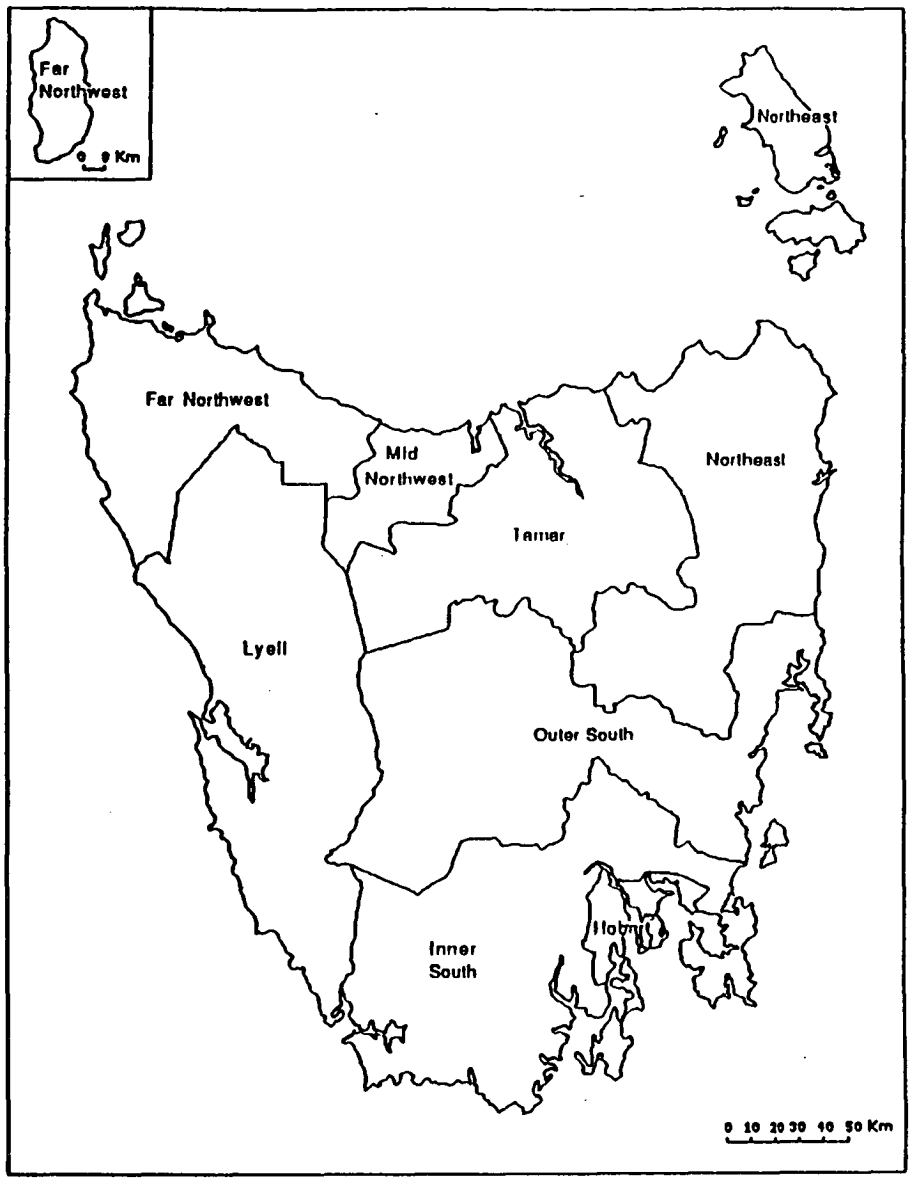


Fig. 3.3 Regional labour markets in Tasmania
Source: Wilde (1988: 43)

In times of need, female enrolment as unemployed, that is looking for employment, can increase the unemployment rate and can mask job creation which has taken place. In the area of youth employment too, at a time when concern is being expressed about retention rates in education, the conventional calculation hides the proportion of the age cohort who are undertaking further education or training. In both cases it is more useful to look at the percentage of unemployed within the total group under consideration.

3.3.2 The labour market in Tasmania in 1971

The 1971 Census of Population and Housing captures the net outcome of the interactions of the private and public sectors during the long boom in terms of population, labour force and employment. The total population of the state had almost reached 390 000 (excluding migratory figures) compared with just over a quarter of a million in 1947. In all the tables,

the following abbreviations are used where necessary: n/s for not stated; na for not available; cs for community services; LF for labour force; and nei for not elsewhere indicated.

The first columns of Tables 3.3 to 3.8 show a male population of just under 200 000 with approximately 60 per cent in the working age group age 15 to 64 (Table 3.2). Fifty-five per cent of all males, over 106 000, were in the labour force, representing 89 per cent of the working age group; less than 2 000 were unemployed (Table 3.4). Of the employed, 85 per cent were wage or salary earners, with 14 per cent employers or self-employed (Table 3.5). Data were not collected for full-time and part-time work until 1976 when ninety-six per cent were working full-time (Table 3.6). Seventy-five per cent of those employed were in the private sector, 20 per cent in local or state government employment and only four per cent employed by the federal government (Table 3.7). The biggest group, about 40 per cent, were employed in physical services such as wholesaling and retailing, construction and transport; 25 per cent were employed in manufacturing; only four per cent (just over 4 000) in mining, already a substantial drop from the 8 000 quoted by Robson (1991); a relatively low percentage (18 per cent) in information and community services; and, compared with other western countries, a relatively high figure (almost 12 per cent) in rural industries (Table 3.8). The largest occupational groups (with more than 5 000 in the category) as classified under the CCLO system were farmers, farm managers and farm workers (10 per cent); metal tradesmen and mechanics (eight per cent); employers, managers and workers on own account (seven per cent); book-keepers and cashiers (seven per cent); carpenters and wood machinists (six per cent); road transport drivers (five per cent); and labourers not included elsewhere (five per cent).

Table 3.3 Male population by age groups, Tasmania 1971-1986

Age/Year	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Under 15	62088	31.67	59040	29.37	56029	26.91	54310	25.15
15-64	120667	61.55	127081	63.23	134700	64.70	141915	65.72
65 & over	13280	6.77	14876	7.40	17464	8.39	19714	9.13
Total	196035	100.00	200997	100.00	208193	100.00	215939	100.00

Table 3.4 Male labour force status, Tasmania 1971-1986

Year/ Category	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Under 15	62088	31.67	59040	29.37	56025	26.91	54310	25.15
Not in LF	26109	13.32	30151	15.00	34749	16.69	42670	19.76
Employed	106052	54.10	107805	53.64	108876	52.30	107104	49.60
Unemp	1786	0.91	4001	1.99	8543	4.10	11855	5.49
Total LF	107838	55.01	111806	55.63	117419	56.40	118959	55.09
Total	196035	100.00	200997	100.00	208193	100.00	215939	100.00

Table 3.5 Male employment status, Tasmania 1971-1986

Year/ Category	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Wage/salary earner	90492	85.33	91982	85.32	92340	84.81	89100	83.19
Employer	6841	6.45	15382	14.27	6705	6.16	7271	6.79
Self-employed	8442	7.96	*	*	9497	8.72	10330	9.64
Unpaid helper	277	0.26	441	0.41	334	0.31	403	0.38
Total employed	106052	100.00	107805	100.00	108876	100.00	107104	100.00

* included in employer figures

Table 3.6 Male full-time and part-time work, Tasmania 1976 and 1986

Year/ Age	1976				1986			
	PT	%	FT	%	PT	%	FT	%
15-19	448	4.63	9221	95.37	1398	17.45	6614	82.55
20-24	484	3.67	12696	96.32	1224	9.86	11190	90.14
25-29	400	2.75	14137	97.25	1120	7.79	13261	92.21
30-34	285	2.35	11817	97.65	1074	7.62	13023	92.38
35-39	242	2.26	10486	97.75	1009	7.08	13237	92.92
40-44	199	2.17	8976	97.84	723	6.38	10606	93.62
45-49	264	2.70	9510	97.21	638	6.73	8839	93.27
50-54	284	3.12	8812	96.88	597	7.81	7051	92.19
55-59	345	4.74	6933	95.25	755	10.76	6260	89.24
60-64	371	7.52	4562	92.46	493	14.59	2886	85.41
65+	610	36.09	1080	63.91	536	39.88	808	60.12
Total*	3933	3.85	98237	96.15	9570	9.26	93778	90.74

*including migratory and not including 6107 not stated

Table 3.7 Male employment in private and government sectors ,Tasmania 1971-1986

Sector/Year	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Private Sector including n/s	80494	75.90	79676	73.91	79308	72.84	77152	72.03
Local Government	na *	na	2486	2.31	2569	2.36	2582	2.41
State Government	20987	19.79	19465	18.06	19404	17.82	19761	18.45
Australian Government	4571	4.31	6178	5.73	7595	6.98	7609	7.10
Total	106052	100.00	107805	100.00	108876	100.00	107104	100.00

* included in State figures

Table 3.8 Male employment by five industrial sectors, Tasmania 1971-1986

Sector/Year	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Rural	12094	11.81	9618	9.38	10182	9.85	9640	9.30
Mining	4375	4.27	3952	3.86	4026	3.90	3099	2.99
Manufacturing	25312	24.73	22792	22.24	21371	20.68	19536	18.85
Physical services	42104	41.13	43750	42.68	42475	41.11	44119	42.57
Information & cs	18482	18.05	22388	21.84	25277	24.46	27255	26.30
Total *	102367	100.00	102500	100.00	103331	100.00	103649	100.00

* (not including not stated)

The first columns of Tables 3.9 to 3.15 show in 1971 a female population 2 000 less than the male population with approximately 60 per cent in the working age group (Table 3.9). Twenty-three per cent of all females (45 000) were in the labour force, and this represents 39 per cent of the working age group. Looked at by age groups, the percentage of females not in the labour force declined from just under half in the 15 to 19 age group to 95 per cent at over 65, with only slight evidence of women returning to work in the 35 to 44 age group (Table 3.10). Just over 1 200 were unemployed (Table 3.11). Of the employed, 90 per cent were wage or salary earners, with only eight per cent employers or self-employed, but almost two per cent declaring themselves as unpaid workers in family businesses (Table 3.12). Data were not collected for full-time and part-time work until 1976 when 32 per cent were working part-time (Table 3.13). Seventy-seven per cent were in the private sector, 18 per cent in local or state government employment and only four per cent employed by the federal government (Table 3.14). The biggest group, about 41 per cent, were employed in information and community services; 39 per cent were in physical services, principally wholesaling and retailing; 15 per cent were employed in manufacturing; and only four per cent declared themselves as employed in rural industries (Table 3.15). The largest

occupational groups (with more than 3 000 workers in the category) as classified under the CCLO system covered a very limited range: stenographers, typists and other clerical workers made up 26 per cent; shopkeepers and shop assistants 14 per cent; housekeepers, cooks and maids eight per cent; and teachers and nurses seven per cent each.

At the end of the Long Boom, therefore, Tasmania had a labour market which offered few career opportunities to well-qualified employees and a labour force ill-equipped with skills for the coming competitive pressures. The major demand in the male labour market, apart from farming and forestry, was for full-time workers in the area of skilled trades in the physical services, and in the much smaller female labour market for both full-time and part-time workers in the whole range of services at a subordinate level. The Long Boom effectively ended in 1973, and in the fifteen years to the 1986 census many changes took place. Political and social as well as economic forces, in Tasmania, Australia-wide and world wide, increasingly impinged on labour markets in Tasmania.

Table 3.9 Female population by age groups, Tasmania 1971-1986

Age/Year	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Under 15	59235	30.54	56612	28.12	53579	25.48	52226	23.75
15-64	116978	60.31	124851	62.02	133340	63.40	140900	64.09
65 and over	17750	9.15	19834	9.85	23391	11.12	26729	12.16
Total	193963	100.00	201297	100.00	210310	100.00	219855	100.00

Table 3.10 Percentage of females not in the labour force by age groups, Tasmania 1971 and 1986

Age/Year	1971 %	1986 %
15-19	49.29	46.79
20-24	50.74	30.88
25-34	66.85	45.53
35-44	59.24	38.97
45-54	64.21	48.04
55-59	73.40	71.40
60-64	85.70	88.00
65+	95.96	97.49
15-65+	66.38	55.56

Table 3.11 Female labour force status, Tasmania 1971-1986

Category/Year	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Under 15	59235	30.54	56613	28.12	53579	25.48	52226	23.75
Not in labour force	89439	46.11	86369	42.91	90074	42.83	93139	42.36
Employed	44028	22.70	55642	27.64	61088	29.05	66951	30.45
Unemployed	1261	0.65	2673	1.33	5569	2.65	7539	3.43
Total labour force	45289	23.35	58315	28.97	66657	31.69	74490	33.88
Total	193963	100.00	201297	100.00	210310	100.00	219855	100.00

Table 3.12 Female employment status, Tasmania 1971-1986

Category/ Year	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Wage/salary earner	39649	90.05	47230	84.88	52427	85.82	57463	85.83
Employer	1727	3.92	6068	10.91	3111	5.09	3577	5.34
Self-employed	1892	4.30	*	*	4071	6.66	4572	6.83
Unpaid helper	760	1.73	2343	4.21	1479	2.42	1339	2.00
Total employed	44028	100.00	55642	100.00	61088	100.00	66951	100.00

* included in employer figures

Table 3.13 Female full-time and part-time work, Tasmania 1976 and 1986

Age/ year	1976*				1986			
	PT	%	FT	%	PT	%	FT	%
15-19	728	9.36	7055	90.67	2325	31.81	4985	68.19
20-24	1305	15.86	6920	84.11	2318	23.15	7697	76.85
25-29	2185	37.97	3568	62.01	3210	37.83	5275	62.17
30-34	2366	47.39	2628	52.63	4374	54.20	3696	45.80
35-39	2689	48.05	2908	51.97	4965	55.53	3976	44.47
40-44	2056	42.45	2788	57.57	3636	50.35	3585	49.65
45-49	1747	38.51	2791	61.52	2727	47.39	3027	52.61
50-54	1430	35.74	2573	64.31	1893	47.97	2053	52.03
55-59	904	37.59	1500	62.37	1143	45.18	1387	54.82
60-64	429	43.78	550	56.12	522	48.47	555	51.53
65+	234	48.15	255	52.47	307	55.02	251	44.98
Total*	16069	32.40	32533	65.59	27411	42.88	36515	57.12

* including migratory and not including not stated of 6065

Table 3.14 Female employment in private and government sectors, Tasmania 1971-1986

Sector/Year	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Private Sector (inc. N/S)	34223	77.73	39315	70.66	42370	69.37	45926	68.91
Local Government	na*	na	453	0.81	446	0.73	662	0.99
State Government	8098	18.39	13487	24.24	15304	25.06	16621	24.94
Australian Government	1707	3.88	2386	4.29	2958	4.84	3442	5.16
Total	44028	100.00	55641	100.00	61078	100.00	66651	100.00

* included in State figures

Table 3.15 Female employment by five industrial sectors, Tasmania 1971-1986

Sector/Year	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Rural	1674	3.95	3084	6.22	2808	5.06	3405	5.47
Mining	204	0.48	258	0.52	285	0.51	198	0.32
Manufacturing	6219	14.69	4876	9.84	4751	8.56	5178	8.32
Physical services	16691	39.43	18485	37.30	20314	36.60	23466	37.72
Information & cs	17546	41.45	22855	46.12	27343	49.27	29959	48.16
Total *	42334	100.00	49558	100.00	55501	100.00	62206	100.00

* not including not stated

3.3.3 Changing labour markets 1971 to 1986

In the period 1971 to 1986, the marked changes in labour markets in Tasmania showed different characteristics by gender and region. Male and female labour markets are examined separately for the state as a whole and then by regions.

Male labour market, Tasmania

The labour market for males in Tasmania in the period 1971 to 1986 displayed certain clear characteristics. The male labour force grew only slowly, in keeping with the small growth in population, and those employed increased by less than one per cent (Table 3.16).

Table 3.5 shows that the number employed fluctuated slightly within the period but remained virtually static over all. Males as a proportion of persons employed, however, declined from just over 70 per cent in 1971 to just over 61 per cent in 1986. The number of

Table 3.16 Percentage change in numbers employed, Tasmania 1971-1986

	1971	1986	% change
Employed males	106052	107104	0.99
Employed females	44028	66951	52.06
Total	150080	174055	15.97

employed males increased slightly from 1971 to 1981, but then fell again to the 1976 level in 1986. The number unemployed rose from under 2 000 in 1971 to almost 12 000 in 1986. Of unemployed males in 1986, 22 per cent were aged 15-19 years and 20 per cent 20-24 years. Within employment status categories, the percentage of wage/salary earners dropped from 85 per cent to 83 per cent with self-employed increasing from almost eight per cent to almost 10 per cent, a possible indication of increasing casualisation of male employment, and with only a very small increase in employers (Table 3.5). The percentage of males not in the labour force shows noticeable increases from age 45 onwards, which indicates two trends, one towards 'discouraged job seekers' who have given up the attempt to find work, and the other to early retirement, which may be voluntary or as the result of redundancy (Table 3.17).

Hours of work do not figure in the census data until 1976, in itself an indication of change. In 1976 less than four per cent of male employment was part-time, but in 1986 this had risen to over nine per cent. Table 3.6 however shows a greater increase in part-time employment for the age groups over 55 years, and from 15-24 years; this possible indication of casualisation may in the younger age group be associated with part-time employment during late secondary and tertiary education.

Table 3.17 Percentage of males not in the labour force by age groups, Tasmania 1971 and 1986

Year/ Age group	1971* %	1986 %
15-19	41.03	42.92
20-24	10.49	10.99
25-34	5.34	6.38
35-44	4.85	6.94
45-54	7.37	11.09
55-59	11.90	23.10
60-64	21.51	58.34
65+	77.94	92.32
Overall	19.40	26.43

* including migratory

Private sector employment of males fell from 76 per cent in 1971 to 72 per cent in 1986, state and local government employment of males remained static at around 20 per cent, and Commonwealth government employment increased from four per cent to seven per cent of total male employment (Table 3.7).

Male employment by industrial sector showed considerable changes over the period. A five sector analysis (Table 3.8, after Rich 1987: 42) shows that rural employment declined from nearly 12 per cent in 1971 to just over nine per cent in 1986 (both high figures for Western capitalist economies). Mining employment declined slightly. Manufacturing employment decreased markedly from nearly 25 per cent in 1971 to under 19 per cent in 1986. Employment in physical services fluctuated slightly over the period, probably reflecting restructuring at different times in the retailing and wholesaling sector, but increased slightly overall and remains the largest sector of male employment. The biggest increase was in employment in information and community services, with an increase from 18 per cent in 1971 to over 26 per cent of employed males in 1986, with employment almost doubled in the community services subdivision. (For the more detailed table on which Table 3.8 is based see Appendix B.)

Because of the changes in classifying occupations referred to earlier, only generalisations can be made about occupational change, which included a decline in farmers, fishermen and mine workers, and an increase in professional, technical and clerical occupations. In 1986 the largest male occupation groups in Tasmania, under the new ASCO system, were tradespersons, plant and machine operators and labourers and related workers which together made up about 53 per cent of employed males (Table 3.18). The managers and administrators group appears more significant than it is, as it is inflated by the number of farmers and farm managers, many of small dairy and vegetable farms; of the 14 517 (14 per cent) jobs reported as managers and administrators, 35 per cent were in the rural sector.

The overview which emerges is of a male labour market in the mid 1980s which is static in numbers employed, with over a quarter of those employed in government jobs, with private sector employment dominated by blue collar occupations in both physical service industries and declining manufacturing, and with marginalised groups among the young, the over 55s and those of the 'prime age' groups who have poor access to full-time employment. There are few high level managerial jobs and a relative shortage of information sector jobs in general, and a continuing loss of managerial, research and development, and clerical jobs to head offices on the mainland as a result both of restructuring in general and specific developments in information technology and telecommunications.

Table 3.18 Male employment by occupation, Tasmania 1986

Major occupation group	Number	%
Managers & administrators	14517	13.51
Professionals	11183	10.41
Para-professionals	6611	6.15
Tradespersons	23873	22.22
Clerks	7711	7.18
Sales & personal services	8368	7.79
Plant & machine operators	15191	14.14
Labourers & related workers	17460	16.25
Inadequately described & nei	1579	1.47
Total (inc. n/s)	107443	100.00

Source: adapted from Wilde (1988: 25)

Male employment by regions.

There are considerable variations in male employment within Tasmanian regions. Hobart dominates in size, quality and range of employment opportunities, followed by Tamar, and the Mid and Far Northwest. The four remaining regions in Wilde's division, Inner and Outer South, Northeast and Lyell are much smaller and have more restricted labour markets. Table 3.19 summarises some of the varying changes between 1971 and 1986.

Youth unemployment among males varied among the regions (Table 3.20). This is a difficult topic on which to comment from census data as those unemployed in an area are those who choose to look for work in that area, and the fact that the Northeast, Inner South and Outer South show the lowest youth unemployment suggests that there may have been a movement out to urban areas to find work.

Table 3.19 Males: percentage change in population over 15 years, and in numbers employed and unemployed, by regions, 1971-1986

Region	1986 pop. over 15	% change from 1971 in pop. over 15	% change from 1971 in numbers employed	% change from 1971 in numbers unemployed
Hobart	64815	19.94	5.29	508.16
Inner South	8874	21.63	-0.30	658.26
Outer South	3589	-2.92	-22.61	732.35
Northeast	5747	14.99	-9.09	714.29
Tamar	38774	22.52	4.42	539.82
Mid Northwest	17624	25.58	3.99	528.10
Far Northwest	17535	11.09	-7.84	764.85
Lyell	4711	-5.38	-10.88	358.33
State	161669	18.46	0.99	563.77

Table 3.20 Male youth unemployment by regions, 1986

Region	Total unemp No	Unemp No	15-19 years % of region	Unemp No	20-24 years % of region
Hobart	4397	972	22.11	967	21.99
Inner South	872	139	15.94	134	15.37
Outer South	283	58	20.49	42	14.84
Northeast	456	75	16.45	61	13.38
Tamar	2860	617	21.57	587	20.52
Mid Northwest	1391	333	23.94	292	20.99
Far Northwest	1427	379	26.56	278	19.48
Lyell	165	23	13.94	26	15.76
State	11851	2596	21.91	2387	20.14

Table 3.21 Males: percentage part-time employment by regions, 1976 and 1986

Region/Date	1976	1986
Hobart	4.31	9.21
Inner South	4.96	11.75
Outer South	6.24	9.95
Northeast	4.58	10.57
Tamar	3.58	8.65
Mid Northwest	3.22	9.74
Far Northwest	3.34	8.77
Lyell	1.3	7.19
State	3.85	9.26

Table 3.22 Male employment in private and government sectors by regions, 1986

Region/Sector	% private sector	% all govt.	% state govt.
Hobart	63.81	36.19	23.14
Inner South	74.59	25.41	16.98
Outer South	69.07	30.93	25.28
Northeast	80.03	19.97	12.97
Tamar	77.14	22.86	13.97
Mid Northwest	79.07	20.93	14.67
Far Northwest	82.16	17.84	12.06
Lyell	67.07	32.93	30.36
State	72.03	27.96	18.45

The percentage of part-time employment varied (Table 3.21), but at this level of disaggregation it becomes apparent that part-time work is not simply an indication of casualisation. In Lyell, the nature of the industry and occupation structure and especially the predominance of mining makes part-time work less likely. In, for example, Hobart in 1986 there is the possibility of permanent part-time work both in the public and private sector, which may be a conscious choice on the part of employed people and not simply the only work available because of the size of a community or the lack of an adequate demand for a service.

The importance of employer type varied, with particular interest lying in the relation between State government employment and employment in the private sector (Table 3.22). State government employment regionally was at its highest proportion in 1971 in Outer South at almost 40 per cent, as a result of major hydro-electric construction in the area, with a big decline to 25 per cent when construction had been completed. Hobart, Tamar and Mid Northwest have had consistently high rates of government male employment, reflecting administrative and clerical jobs in the three main urban areas. Hobart, with the highest of the three as the result of combined opportunities in the three levels of government, consequently had the least proportion of private sector employment at 64 per cent in 1986. Employment in the private sector was regionally at its highest in Lyell in 1971 at 94 per cent, reflecting the predominance of the mining industry. The most significant change was also in Lyell where job-shedding resulting from restructuring in the mining industry led to government policies to support employment in the area and a change in the ratio of private sector employment to government employment from 94 : 6 per cent in 1971 to 67 : 33 per cent in 1986.

Male employment by industry and occupation varied considerably by region. In Hobart, there was a marked trend from manufacturing to information and community services, but physical services remained dominant at around 44 per cent of male employment over the period. In 1986, the only year with ASCO data available, Hobart had the whole range of occupations well represented, with tradespersons dominating at 22 per cent and para-professionals, eight per cent, and sales and personal services, nine per cent, the least important.

Tamar was similarly dominated by physical services but had stronger employment in manufacturing which only declined from 28 per cent in 1971 to under 23 per cent in 1986, but did not share as greatly in the shift to information and community services, 19 per cent in 1971 to under 23 per cent in 1986. Occupational structure was dominated in 1986 by tradespersons at 24 per cent but all categories were well represented. Fourteen per cent of employed males were listed as managers and administrators; of these, however, 32 per cent were farmers or farm managers.

Mid Northwest had a male employment in physical services which fluctuated over the period between 39 per cent in 1981 and 46 per cent in 1971, and similarly had a smaller share in the trend to information and community services; the employment in manufacturing, however, only declined from 25 per cent in 1971 to 24 per cent in 1986, an indication of the continuing strength among others of food processing and some textile and clothing manufacturing in the area. Male occupations in 1986 were less evenly spread, with 24 per cent tradespersons, 18 per cent labourers and 17 per cent plant and machine operators, and consequently lower values for professionals, para-professionals, clerks and sales and personal services. Of the 15 per cent of employed males listed as managers and administrators, however, 43 per cent were farmers or farm managers.

In the Far Northwest, rural employment, largely in dairying, only declined from 17 per cent in 1971 to 15 per cent in 1986; manufacturing showed a big decline from 33 per cent in 1971 to 24 per cent in 1986, while in the service industries, physical services were less dominant, increasing from 32 per cent to 35 per cent over the period, and information and community services only increased from 11 per cent to 19 per cent. The principal occupation groups in 1986 were tradespersons, 22 per cent, labourers, 19 per cent, and plant and machine operators, 18 per cent. Managers and administrators formed almost 19 per cent in this area, but 55 per cent of these were farmers or farm managers.

Lyell's male employment structure changed from 69 per cent in mining and 19 per cent in physical services at the beginning of the period to 50 per cent and 37 per cent respectively in 1986, in a period in which male employment in the area declined by almost 500, or 11 per cent. In keeping with this industrial pattern, the occupational structure in 1986 was markedly skewed with 28 per cent plant and machine operators, 27 per cent tradespersons and 23 per cent labourers, a total of 78 per cent in skilled or unskilled occupations, and a low proportion (four per cent) of jobs in management and administration.

The Northeast region's principal male employment remained in the rural sector, with rates declining only from 39 per cent to 38 per cent over the period. Manufacturing increased slightly from 11 per cent to 13 per cent, physical services increased from 25 per cent to 29 per cent, and information and community services from nine per cent to 13 per cent, in a period in which male employment in the area declined by about 450, or nine per cent. Occupations in 1986 were 26 per cent labourers, 24 per cent managers and administrators (with 70 per cent of these in the rural sector), and 17 per cent each of plant and machine operators and tradespersons.

The Outer South region, with no major urban centre, lost male employment to the extent of 700 or almost 23 per cent over the period. The proportion of rural employment increased from 32 per cent to 35 per cent although actual numbers fell by about 150; in manufacturing

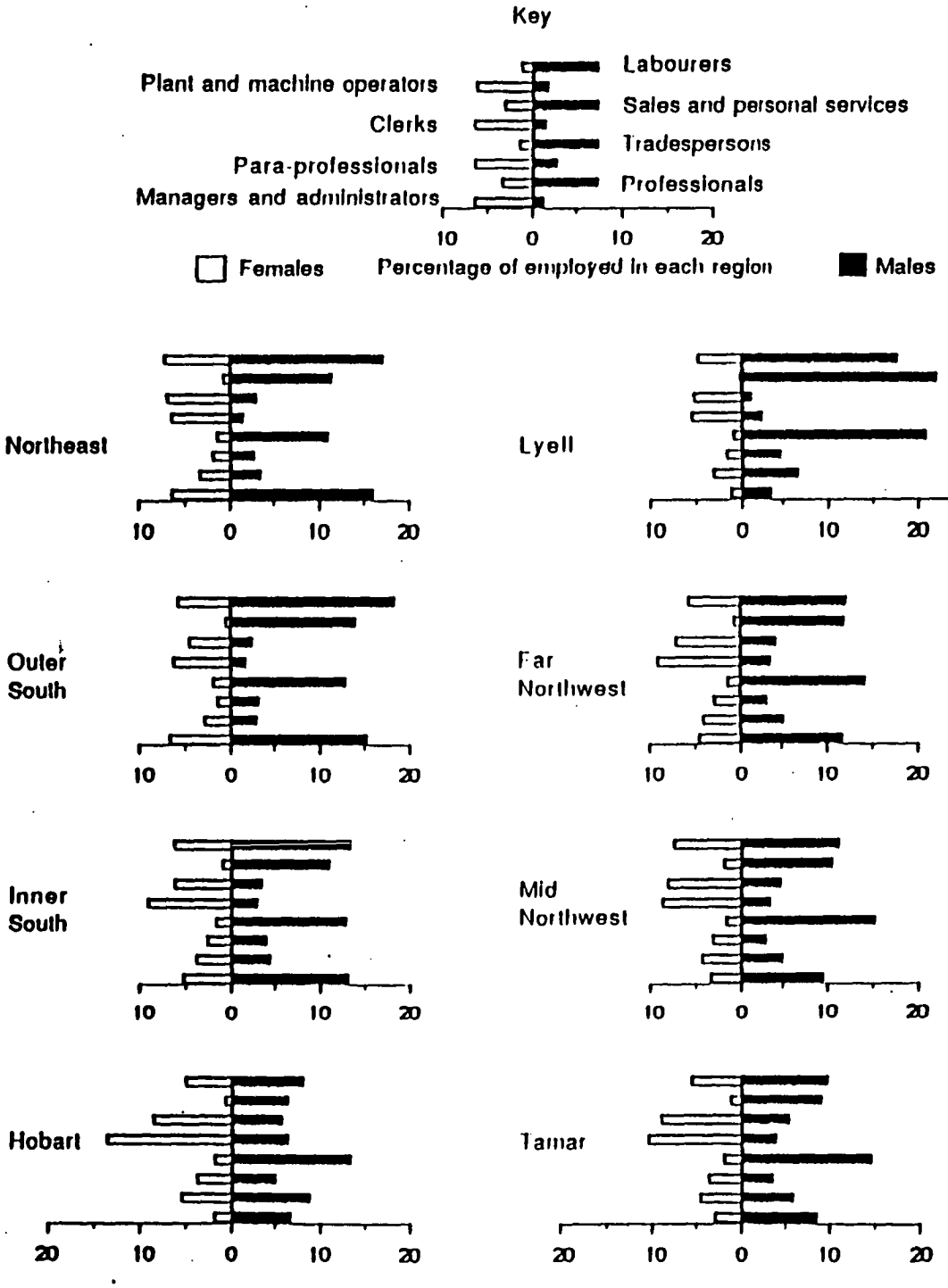


Fig. 3.4 Regional occupation structure by gender, Tasmania 1986
Source: devised by the author for Wilde (1988)

employment remained steady at just over nine per cent; in physical services it declined from 50 per cent to 40 per cent, and in information and community services it increased from six per cent to 11 per cent. Principal male occupations were distributed among labourers, 26 per cent, managers and administrators, 22 per cent (with 72 per cent of these farmers or farm managers), plant and machine operators, 20 per cent, and tradespersons, 18 per cent. The judgment made earlier that this area possibly consists of several local labour markets whose individual and perhaps more meaningful patterns have been aggregated may account for this apparently odd pattern. Similarly, Inner South presents an odd pattern of change from 43 per cent male employment in the rural sector to 26 per cent, from 18 per cent to 14 per cent in manufacturing, from 27 per cent to 35 per cent in physical services and from 8 per cent to 20 per cent in information and community services. This becomes more understandable if it is realised that during the period under discussion this area has changed from a predominantly rural area centering on the Huon Valley's orcharding to one which combines isolated rural settlements, commuting areas newly accessible because of major road improvements, and areas of hobby farming. The male occupation structure was 21 per cent labourers, 20 per cent managers and administrators, of whom 68 per cent were farmers or farm managers, 20 per cent tradespersons and 17 per cent plant and machine operators. Fig. 3.4 summarises the regional occupation structure by gender in 1986 and in so doing graphically brings out the major occupational strengths of each region.

Thus within the Tasmanian male labour market outlined above there exist very considerable differences in access to employment by industry, occupation, length of hours and type of employer. The differences are particularly great between the areas which contain a large urban area offering a range of employment and the rural areas and the predominantly mining area of Lyell with a very restricted range. Individual male residents of these regions will have had very different labour market experiences over the period since 1971.

Female labour market in Tasmania

The labour market for females in Tasmania is markedly different from that for males. The female labour force grew steadily between 1971 and 1986 (Table 3.11) reflecting changes in both economic and social conditions. It is possible, however, that some of the increase was due to changes in perception, particularly in the rural sector; the increase noted in the number of female farmers between 1971 and 1976 probably was the result of a changing perception of their role in the family enterprise, and of a changing income tax situation, reporting themselves as employed rather than as not in the labour force (Wilde 1988). The number of females employed increased by 52 per cent over the period, and females as a proportion of persons employed grew from 29 per cent to 38 per cent. One of the most noticeable features is the increase over the period of married women in the 35-44 and 45-54 age cohorts returning to paid employment (Table 3.10).

The number of females unemployed increased by about 6 000 over the period, but it is possible that there was a degree of hidden female unemployment; partly because of the structure of unemployment benefits, many females move from the employed category to the not in the labour force category without entering the unemployed category. Of unemployed females in 1986, 31 per cent were aged 15-19 years and 23 per cent were 20-24 years. Table 3.23 shows data on the employment status of married women; the changes apparent between the two censuses serve to illustrate an area of participation rates in which little is known about the factors underlying decision-making at both an individual and family level, where the female labour market has an interface with the male one. Within employment status categories (Table 3.12), wage and salary earners made up 86 per cent of employed females in 1986 compared with 90 per cent in 1971. The number and proportion of employers and self-employed grew over the period, and unpaid helpers in family businesses still represented two per cent of female employment in 1986.

In 1976, 32 per cent of female employment was part-time and this rose to 43 per cent in 1986 (Table 3.13). Much of this employment is under 15 hours per week and raises questions of how this is related to the nature of available employment and how much to considerations of other responsibilities and to the gender division of domestic labour. The biggest increase in part-time employment was in the 15-19 age group, from nine per cent in 1976 to 32 per cent in 1986, but there were significant increases in all age groups.

Table 3.23 Employment status of married women by age, Tasmania 1981 and 1986

	% of women employed who are married		% of married women who are employed		% of age group who are employed married women	
Age/Year	1981	1986	1981	1986	1981	1986
15-19	3.35	1.75	30.09	28.42	1.46	0.71
20-24	38.70	32.36	47.07	49.97	22.07	19.23
25-29	69.13	64.00	41.39	45.74	31.29	31.70
30-34	80.77	76.74	45.42	49.39	37.33	38.51
35-39	84.50	82.19	53.35	57.52	44.73	46.39
40-44	83.98	82.34	57.54	59.23	48.02	47.85
45-49	82.95	81.53	52.29	55.41	43.32	44.50
50-54	78.88	80.03	40.29	44.12	32.46	34.84
55-59	73.51	73.53	27.89	26.96	21.06	20.09
60-64	67.80	68.55	12.09	11.84	8.05	8.05
65+	49.08	61.34	4.52	3.52	1.70	1.44
15-65+	61.50	61.21	39.81	41.83	23.97	24.45

Source: Grosvenor and Wilde (1989: 13)

Table 3.24 Female employment by occupation, Tasmania 1986

Major occupation group	Number	%
Managers & administrators	4995	7.46
Professionals	8112	12.12
Para-professionals	5625	8.40
Tradespersons	3053	4.56
Clerks	18629	27.82
Sales & personal services	13941	20.82
Plant & machine operators	1618	2.42
Labourers & related workers	9587	14.32
Inadequately described & nei	615	0.92
Total (inc. n/s)	66955	100.00

Source: adapted from Wilde (1988: 25)

Table 3.25 Females: percentage change in population over 15 years, and in numbers employed and unemployed by regions, 1971-1986

Region	1986 pop over 15	% change from 1971 in pop over 15	% change from 1971 in nos employed	% change from 1971 in nos unemp
Hobart	69220	22.67	49.32	397.88
Inner South	8303	27.80	115.84	520.31
Outer South	3054	4.88	71.27	655.56
Northeast	5603	-18.41	67.85	778.57
Tamar	41293	21.91	43.79	494.25
Mid Northwest	19039	33.19	75.21	568.84
Far Northwest	17794	19.97	42.54	850.47
Lyell	3316	-1.95	22.13	430.77
State	167622	20.52	52.06	497.86

Table 3.26 Female youth employment by regions 1986

Region	Total unemp Number	Unemployed 15-19 years Number	% of region	Unemployed 20-24 years Number	% of region
Hobart	2823	816	28.91	645	22.85
Inner South	397	115	28.97	95	23.93
Outer South	136	41	30.15	36	26.47
Northeast	246	100	40.65	52	21.14
Tamar	1860	554	29.78	419	22.53
Mid Northwest	923	303	32.83	213	23.08
Far Northwest	1017	386	37.95	219	21.53
Lyell	138	46	33.33	25	18.12
State	7540	2361	31.31	1704	22.60

Government employment for females, always important because of teachers, nurses and clerical and welfare workers, increased over the period 1971 to 1986 (Table 3.14), with considerable growth between 1971 and 1976 in state government employment in part due to educational initiatives under the Whitlam government. In 1986 therefore, private sector employment represented only 69 per cent of female employment compared with 78 per cent in 1971.

Changes by industrial sector (Table 3.15) have seen a decline in female employment in manufacturing from 15 per cent in 1971 to eight per cent in 1986; a slight decrease in physical services from 39 per cent to 38 per cent; and an increase in information and community services from 42 per cent to 48 per cent, again the result of concentration of female employment in teaching and nursing as well as office work. (For the more detailed table on which Table 3.15 is based see Appendix B.) The change in classifying system again makes comment on occupational change over the period difficult, but increases in professional, technical and clerical groups are undoubted. In 1986 the female occupation structure (Table 3.24) was dominated by clerks, 28 per cent, and sales and personal service, 21 per cent. Labourers, which include cleaners, accounted for 14 per cent, and professionals and para-professionals between them 21 per cent. Managers and administrators made up 7 per cent of female employment, of which a perhaps surprising 43 per cent were farmers or farm managers.

The overview of the female labour market is thus of growing numbers of employed, many of them married women, and much part-time work. Employment is concentrated in a narrow range of occupations and industries and government employment is extremely important.

Female employment by regions

Regionally the same situation exists as in the male labour market, with Hobart and Launceston dominating in size and variety of employment available (Table 3.25). Employment grew in all regions with least growth in Lyell where population had declined with both single men and families moving out after job losses in the mining industry. Female unemployment was greatest in the Far Northwest, Northeast and Lyell, but it must be emphasised that these percentages are calculated from a very small base figure. Female youth unemployment was proportionately greater in the Northeast with 41 per cent of those unemployed in 1986 being aged 15-18 years and the Far Northwest with 38 per cent in the same age group. Figures ranged from 29 per cent to 33 per cent for other regions for 15-19 year-olds, and for the 20-24 year-olds from 18 per cent in Lyell to 27 per cent in Outer South (Table 3.26). These figures are complicated by mobility of unmarried females (as in the case of Lyell).

With regard to the incidence of part-time and full-time employment, there is a remarkable similarity in the proportion of part-time employment which has evolved from different starting points in the four biggest regions (Table 3.27). While opportunities for work of different kinds are offered and taken up or not, it is apparent that part-time work is favoured by many, though not all, women as fitting in with other responsibilities and activities. The situation in the Northeast region with only 11 per cent part-time female employment remains an anomaly when compared with regions which are similar in other respects, and serves as a reminder that little is known at the local level about whether the decisions about full-time or part-time employment stem from the demand or the supply side.

While government and private sector female employment varies regionally (Table 3.28) government employment is a quarter or above in all regions and State government employment is above 22 per cent in all regions. Apart from Lyell, whose employment patterns have consistently emerged as differing from other regions because of its mining history, Hobart has the largest female government employment, affected not only by the concentration of hospitals and schools in a high order urban area, but also the clerical jobs available in the three tiers of public service in the state capital.

The regional pattern of female employment by industry and occupation follows much the same pattern, with the high order regions sharing most in the move to information and community services, with Hobart 56 per cent, and Tamar 46 per cent in contrast to Outer South with 31 per cent. Employment in manufacturing was maintained most in the north of the state with Tamar (19 per cent in 1971 to nine per cent in 1986), Mid Northwest (18 per cent to 14 per cent), and Far Northwest (16 per cent to nine per cent). Employment in physical services, including retailing and entertainment, was above 30 per cent in all regions in 1986.

Table 3.27 Females: percentage part-time employment by regions, 1976 and 1986

Region/Date	1976 %	1986 %
Hobart	32.48	42.35
Inner South	33.26	42.50
Outer South	39.14	50.15
Northeast	4.58	10.57
Tamar	35.53	42.50
Mid Northwest	30.58	42.35
Far Northwest	15.87	42.16
Lyell	34.42	47.81
State	32.40	42.88

Table 3.28 Female employment in private and government sectors by regions, 1986

Region/Sector	% private sector	% all govt.	% state govt.
Hobart	63.70	36.30	26.93
Inner South	74.59	25.41	16.98
Outer South	70.57	29.43	24.55
Northeast	71.81	28.19	23.60
Tamar	73.28	26.72	22.37
Mid Northwest	74.84	25.16	22.06
Far Northwest	70.83	29.12	24.60
Lyell	63.53	36.47	31.85
State	68.91	31.09	24.94

The occupational structure shows regional similarities in the lack of plant and machine operators, except in the Mid Northwest where manufacturing is highest, and of tradespersons, while both professionals and para-professionals show an expected gradation from Hobart to the rural areas, but not within a great range, probably because of the narrower range of jobs taken up within the categories - in effect teachers and nurses dominating. Clerks show a gradation from 33 per cent in Hobart to 19 per cent in the Northeast. The managers and administrators category is again complicated by the inclusion of farmers and farm managers so that Outer South has the highest proportion with 23 per cent. The two lowest are Lyell, where there is a comparative lack of establishments in retailing and personal services, and Hobart where the larger establishments are less likely to have female managers, although some change is apparent. (For details of occupations by region and gender see Appendix B.)

Thus the state female labour market, although regional differences exist, particularly in Lyell, has a greater degree of homogeneity than the male labour market. This results from the nature of the range of female occupations; nurses, teachers and shop assistants are to some degree spread proportionately to population, and a wide range of industries of different spatial distribution requires clerks and cleaners. The variations are in the numbers of managers (including female farmers), machine operators, para-professionals and professionals. Rural areas, however, appear to be more disadvantaged, especially in lack of job opportunities for the young. The question of how much of the female labour market should be regarded as secondary within a segmented labour market is an interesting one which requires more investigation.

Finally, it should be noted that Census employment data deal with outcome and not process. This is particularly apparent in Lyell where employment fell by 20 per cent between 1981 and 1986, the number of unemployed rose only by 20 from 2.5 per cent of the total labour force to 3.5 per cent, while those not in the labour force decreased slightly to

nine per cent when the State figure was 25 per cent (Grosvenor and Wilde 1989: 20). A range of reasons, including the physical geography of the area, the percentage of young footloose unmarried males, and accommodation available for both single and married workers tied to mining jobs, lies behind this unusual situation. Similar idiosyncratic responses to contingent situations are discussed next, in a section which concentrates on processes operating in the continuing period of transition since 1986.

3.4 Tasmania in a period of transition

The labour market trends described above reflect the cumulative outcome of decisions made by many individuals and organisations, both public and private, initiating and reacting to aspects of local, national and global restructuring. Data on some of these individual decisions have been collected for the period since the 1986 Census. The information in this section comes partly from a systematic monitoring of the local press and company annual reports. This leads to some problems with referencing, as regional matters within Tasmania are often covered by at least four newspapers; to avoid overlap, one reference has been singled out for each topic. No claim is made that the data are exhaustive. Some items which do not appear in the newspapers, either because they have not caught the eye of the Press or because of ventures in which a degree of secrecy is vital during development; there is the possibility that big developments attract attention while a significant trend made up of individual small occurrences may not be reported. Nevertheless sufficient detail can be amassed to extend and update the key dimensions of change. State government policies, environmental pressures, union activities, rationalisation in manufacturing, mining and agriculture in particular, changes in ownership and the pattern of public and private capital investment are areas in which significant action is continuing and producing differing outcomes for different places in Tasmania. Each of these principal issues, however, involves interaction with others; the theoretical concept of overdetermination becomes a down to earth problem in any attempt to unravel the concrete, complex conditions of human activity and the distinctive combinations of interactions in particular contexts.

3.4.1 The role of government

The actions of the Tasmanian State government, where they can be separated out, are discussed in this subsection, and those of the Commonwealth government and cooperative federalism form part of section 3.5, but first the conceptualisation of the state used in this thesis is outlined.

Theories of the state

Alternative theories of the state provide different rationales for the involvement of government in economic activity. The outcome of differing theoretical approaches can be diverse:

Capital	C-C	C-L	C-S
Labour	L-C	L-L	L-S
State	S-C	S-L	S-S

Fig. 3.5 State, capital and labour relationships
Source: Britton and Le Heron 1991: 288

> ... the state may be seen as a legal sovereign that controls economic activity, as a referee or umpire that intervenes in economic disputes, as one economic agent among others or as a political agent whose actions may promote or hinder economic performance (Jessop 1990b: 45).

Several geographers have contributed to the discussion of the approaches leading to these outcomes (see, for example, Fincher 1981, 1987; Johnston 1982, 1989; Clark and Dear 1984; Duncan and Goodwin 1988). For the purposes of this thesis the state is taken to be an ensemble of institutions, structural forms and organisations through which it is possible to secure various conditions of existence of capital (Jessop 1990a; Britton and Le Heron 1991). Further, it is accepted that

> ... today's expressions of capitalism require the State for continued existence but the State is not dependent upon capitalism for its perpetuation. While the State forms part of a capitalist superstructure, its expressions are not necessarily beneficial to capital, for they arise from specific socially and spatially located struggles and developments which may be materially conditioned but which are not materially determined (Hay 1988: 44).

In the current situation in Australia there is increasing integration of capital and state activities, with the shared ideology of desirability of economic growth. The state, however, is better viewed as an arena of class struggle than as automatically serving the needs of capitalism. The breadth of relational structures inherent in contemporary capitalism is shown in Fig 3.5.

This matrix positions the three guiding perspectives down the left-hand side, so that the state row directs attention not only to state's relations with capital, but with labour and, in the Australian three tier situation, with other levels of the state. Both federally and at the level of the constituent states, the options open to successive governments in response to the pressures of global restructuring appear to be limited and the room for manœuvring reduced. Within the three relationships, however, it is possible to identify types of action which provide a framework through which to 'assess how and to what extent the institutional apparatus of the state in a particular formation is utilised to maintain, restore or undermine conditions for capital accumulation' (Britton and Le Heron 1991: 306). Jessop (1982) suggests the following:

- *formal facilitation*, such as the provision of rational monetary, legal and administrative systems;

- *substantive facilitation,* in the provision of certain conditions necessary for the majority of individual capitals to continue production, such as involvement in the reproduction of labour through the welfare, education and training agenda;

- *formal support* through which the state influences general conditions of production in specific ways such as changes to company law and trade practice legislation, or establishes conditions favorable to particular fractions of capital such as regional development incentives and investment allowances of which fractions of capital can take advantage if in keeping with individual strategies;

- *substantive support* which affects particular conditions of concern to specific fractions of capital, that is, state imposed regulations in relation to quotas, monopolies, licensing etc; and

- *state direction,* where the state imposes regulations which may disadvantage some fractions of capital but which aim to preserve conditions for the majority to continue accumulation (Jessop 1982: 233-234).

Within Jessop's framework, the new State Service Act in Tasmania, which brought in the merit principle in promotion as opposed to long service, and reform of administration under the CRESAP recommendations, come under the heading of formal facilitation. The alterations to educational provision, including the regional implications of school closures, and the training policies which are discussed in section 3.5 are substantive facilitation. The provision of the technology park at Dowsing Point in Hobart, and the provision of TDA loans for industrial purposes are formal support, while changes in power tariffs and the maintenance of the woodchip export quota constitute substantive support. The requirement of Environmental Management Plans for industrial sites is state direction. The state government has thus acted recently in all the categories of provision for conditions of capital accumulation; some of these are examined in more detail below.

Recent state action

In the context of recent action by the state, it is important to note that there are times when the state government is of the same political persuasion as the Commonwealth government and times when it is not. Figure 3.6 shows that in the period from 1979, the situation has gone broadly from (state) Labor/-Liberal (Commonwealth), through Liberal/Liberal, Liberal/Labor and Labor/Labor back to Liberal/Labor. In the period under consideration, since 1986, the lack of consonance has in particular led to intervention by the Commonwealth government in environmental matters within Tasmania.

In general, however, incoming state governments have faced twin problems of fiscal crisis and division in the community over the means of resolving economic problems. Apart from the general question of sustainable development policy, the Field Government alleged that as a result of the financial legacy of previous Liberal government, a very stringent State budget was necessary in 1990. The CRESAP Report recommended creating over 2 000 redundancies in the State public service with consequent effects not just on employment but on level of provision of services. The intention was to spend revenue as efficiently as

Year	State of Tasmania (Premier)	Commonwealth of Australia (Prime Minister)
1979 1980 1981	Labor government (**Lowe**) *Labor 20 Liberal 15* Plebiscite on damming of Gordon & Franklin Rivers. **Lowe** resigned, replaced by **Holgate**	Liberal/National Party coalition government (**Fraser**)
1982 1983 1984 1985	SW World heritage listing Liberal government (**Gray**) *Liberal 19 Labor 14* *Indep. 1 Green Indep. 1*	Labor governments (**Hawke**)
1986 1987 1988	Liberal government (**Gray**) *Liberal 19 Labor 14* *Green Indep. 2*	Helsham Report on World Heritage status of forests Intervention over Wesley Vale pulp mill
1989 1990	Labor government under Labor/Green Accord (**Field**) *Labor 12 Green Indep. 5* *Liberal 13*	
1991	Labor minority government after end of Labor/Green Accord	
1992	Liberal government (**Groom**) *Liberal 19 Labor 11* *Green Independent 5*	**Hawke** resigned as PM replaced by **Keating** - change in economic policy

Fig. 3.6 Recent political background, Tasmania and Australia

possible, addressing the problem of the decentralised nature of the Tasmanian population. This entailed school closures, reductions in numbers of teachers and support staff (CRESAP 1990), hospital rationalisation especially on the northwest coast, closing of some departmental regional offices, redundancies in the police force and reorganisation of library facilities, including closing 26 branch libraries and replacing some by the Bookmobile service (Triffitt 1990). The effect of these measures on employment has been to reduce further the range of employment available, especially away from main population centres, possibly leading to a progressive decline in services which in turn may produce a continuing downward spiral in the viability of rural settlements. No information is available on the gender composition of the redundancies.

The Groom government has continued the erosion of public service jobs, especially in health, education and construction. The change of government also intensified change in some of its agencies. The TDA was deprived of its authority to give financial grants and is restricted to issuing loans. It is continuing promoting the idea that 'quality' equals 'Tasmania', and loans in future are to concentrate on the development of furniture, food and fisheries enterprises (Tasmanian Business Reporter 1990). This may add to the importance of employment connected with the production of material goods rather than information

noted earlier. In addition, the TDA was instructed to produce a State Industry Development Plan by early 1992 to identify the expansion strategies with the best chances of success in Tasmania and to detail the ways in which the preferred options could best be implemented (Burnie Advocate 1990m). The HEC late in 1990 published its first corporate plan for the next decade, which brought together changes which had been being worked out over the previous two years (Tasmania, Hydro Electric Commission 1990b); the Commission had previously been given responsibility for coordinating energy supplies in the State. It envisages the winding-down of 'in-house' design and construction activities, a significant move towards workforce flexibility, and a more commercial approach to operations. Its human resource strategies include a planned reduction of the workforce from over 5 000 in 1987 to below 3 000 in 1999, by the use of natural attrition, redeployment, voluntary redundancy programs and voluntary advanced retirement schemes (Tasmania, Hydro Electric Commission 1990b). In addition, objectives in relation to award restructuring, training , job specifications and career paths, suggest that there will be considerable changes in the nature as well as amount of employment. At the time of writing, discussions are taking place with Comalco over possible sale or joint venture of some generating facilities seen as first stages in privatisation and a method of debt reduction (Bendeich 1992d). The HEC has been important in another aspect of change in Tasmania, the growth of environmentalism, which is discussed next.

3.4.2 Environmental issues

The development of environmentalism in Tasmania

Since the flooding of Lake Pedder as part of the Gordon power scheme referred to earlier in this chapter, the environmental movement in Tasmania has grown and changed. Its original emphasis was on the preservation of wilderness, a term which has come to have emotive and almost metaphysical connotations in environmental circles. This emphasis is embodied in the two original organisations, the Tasmanian Wilderness Society and the Australian Conservation Trust. The Wilderness Society, formed in 1976, in particular moved towards action, in the form of protests of varying forms in forest locations, city streets and outside State Parliament, some of which attracted worldwide attention and support from prominent environmentalists in Europe and North America. Political action, although with support from the environmental organisations, has been on an individual level, with candidates standing as independents and then forming a Green Independent group when elected. In the 1992 election there was some element of the formation of a party structure, and the Green Party was formally set up in November 1992.

In the early stages, the movement was attacked as being made up of 'urban greenies' stereotyped as public servants, students or unemployed, with a strong mainland element, whose own jobs were not directly at risk through preventing hydro or timber development. The projected Wesley Vale export pulp mill brought in a new element, as the proposed

mill site was in prime farmland in the predominantly conservative northwest. The leader of the local protest, Christine Milne, added a new dimension to the movement and reinforced the view already made apparent by Dr Bob Brown that the power of individuals in protest movements is both important and incalculable. In the 18 years that the author has personally observed events in Tasmania, two trends have become apparent. First there has been a raising of public awareness of environmental issues and of concern for the future, spread through the whole community. Many people of all ages who would not have contemplated it 18 years ago take at least a mildly pro-Green stand; as the CEO of Pasminco said at the Australian Chamber of Commerce National Conference in Hobart in November 1989, 'It's my children and grandchildren's world too'. Second, and especially as the recession has deepened, polarisation between the two extremes has increased; the general public has become aware that there is an element at each extreme, environmental and developmental, who would prefer confrontation to negotiation or consensus. The middle of the road position which encompasses a 'sustainable economy' or 'ecologically sustainable development' is unfortunately viewed so differently by the two extremes that discussion between them is virtually meaningless.

The greening of industry

At a superficial level, environmental issues have become more prominent and there has been a noticeable greening of industry in the form of public relations exercises such as Forest Week in the school holidays, with 'See For Yourself' mill and forest tours and special features in newspapers by Pasminco EZ, ANM, APPM and Forest Products. It is noticeable too that companies under increasing environmental pressure are active in other forms of community involvement, such as university scholarships, blood donor schemes and sport and other sponsorship, seeking to demonstrate their integral part in local life. ANM's Managing Director emphasised the changing attitudes, arguing that it was a myth that the economic health of a company depended on a dirty environment:

> [y]ou ... need to have community support. We have to accept that the community has a right to question the impact of our operations on the environment and we must take time to listen (Lester 1990).

Many companies have advertised appointments for environmental officers, scientists, coordinators and advisors, including specifically those with a knowledge of environmental law. Some companies have funded research into problems associated with their activities. The Tasmanian State Institute of Technology's study of the effects of effluent from eucalyptus pulp mills is being funded by APPM (Eaves 1990) and CSIRO's study of levels of metals in marine life off Heybridge by Tioxide. APPM Wesley Vale produced the first Environmental Management Plan in Tasmania, a situation report on the company's plans to comply with the abolition of environmental pollution exemptions by 1994. This action was welcomed by the State Government and a similar plan is now expected from APPM Burnie.

There has been considerable planning and investment in upgrading plants to meet environmental requirements. Pasminco EZ announced a $53 million purification plant in Hobart in November 1989 responding to criticisms of pollution especially of the Derwent River; these criticisms continued and attracted a demonstration in 1990 by Greenpeace over the dumping of jarosite (Hobart Southern Star 1990) as well as considerable concern over levels of heavy metals in soils in areas surrounding the Risdon works. Early in 1990, Tioxide announced plans to build a neutralisation plant at a cost of $25 million to treat the red effluent which is pumped into Bass Strait (Tapp 1990a). About 95 jobs will be created in the design and construction phase and 18 to operate the plant. ANM spent almost $40 million on pollution control equipment at Boyer so that the company no longer requires ministerial pollution exemption (Lester 1990).

Resource allocation and control

The real environmental issues, however, are much more deep-seated. The campaign in 1988-1989 against the establishment of an export pulp mill at Wesley Vale near Devonport by the North Group in a joint venture with Noranda, the intervention of the Commonwealth Government over the question of environmental guide lines, the subsequent State election and the formation of the Labor-Green Accord in 1989 drew attention to the increasing problems of resource allocation and control, which spread from the processing of forest resources to woodchip quotas and the logging of National Estate areas (Crawford W 1990). Commonwealth-State relations were involved, as some observers felt that the Commonwealth Government was using its international treaty obligations to intervene in areas of State decision making, notably in the area of land use. As the Labor-Green Accord continued, the questions of timber and mineral royalties, forest concessions, bulk power tariffs and mineral exploration in national parks and World Heritage areas were all raised. The Salamanca Agreement was an attempt to negotiate a long term sustainable forest strategy between the Tasmanian Forestry Commission, the Forests and Forest Industries Council and conservation groups. After almost a year, talks failed and the conservation groups withdrew over the question of raising the woodchip quota, leading to the breakdown of the Accord and to a minority Labor Government. A general election early in 1992 resulted in a change of government with a majority Liberal government, the Labor Party, whose recent government had made courageous but unpopular attempts to strengthen the state's economy, was much reduced in representation, and all five Green Independents were returned but with a lower proportion of votes. Reaction to the mandate for development implied in this change included the resurgence of forest protests in the Picton Valley south of Hobart, and the first action in Tasmania of the militant Earth First organisation. On the other hand, the unfavourable reaction of the Minister for Energy to Comalco's suggestions of further subsidies suggests that the new government, like its predecessor, recognises that it has little room to manœuvre.

As this complex scenario developed, industry's response became more coherent. The Chief Executive of Pasminco advocated environmental and conservation standards appropriate for Australian conditions and stressed that it was necessary to achieve the proper balance between environment protection and economic needs (Mines Report 1989). He spoke of the need for industry to insure against possible changes of government in long term planning, and thus foreshadowed what has come to be known as resource security or resource guarantee legislation (Taylor 1990a). There has been increasing pressure on both State and Commonwealth Governments to let industry know the rules from the start (Duff 1990), to spell out the guidelines so that planning can proceed with security. This was brought into prominence when TEMCO abandoned its expansion plans after the mini budget in 1990 when bulk power tariffs were increased despite the fact that companies had long term power contracts (Caples 1990c). In 1992, there was again conflict when the Federal Department of the Environment forced the closure of Bender's limestone quarry south of Lune River on the grounds of danger to the nearby Exit Cave system. The repercussions for EZ Risdon, the chief customer, led to a search for a replacement quarry at Maydena and confrontation between local workers and conservationists (Bendeich 1992a).

In the area of forest resources, however, the Federal Minister for Industry, who had already had a part in setting up the Resource Assessment Committee in 1988 to 'reconcile environment and development' (Taylor 1990a), is seeking agreement on a scheme whereby the Federal and State Governments would both pass laws guaranteeing that no part of a designated wood production zone would be restricted for environmental reasons. A production zone would only be designated after a thorough assessment of the environmental, heritage, social and economic values by governments and the Australian Heritage Commission, with the possibility of deferral zones where further study is needed. If after designation, it were discovered that the production zone contained something of environmental value, industry should then be compensated for the timber lost by gaining an equivalent amount from elsewhere. The Australian Conservation Foundation is reported as being extremely concerned at this proposal, and Greenpeace, in a public letter to the Prime Minister, has stated that 'we consider resource security and ecologically sustainable development to be mutually exclusive concepts' (Taylor 1990b). After the change in state government in 1992, the state resource security measures were adopted but similar legislation at Commonwealth level failed to pass through the Senate. The current situation is unresolved. Tasmania has wood supply agreements by default until the Commonwealth acts again. The draft National Forest Policy, which revives most of the issues, has been endorsed by all states except Tasmania whose Premier demanded a commitment that the Commonwealth will neither undermine nor overturn the state strategy. Meanwhile the green lobby is attempting to have a new Environmental Impact Statement ordered to replace the one done in 1987, on the grounds of changes in cable logging and logging in National Estate areas. Negotiations are taking place to

resolve the impasse and to prevent forest protests during the period leading up to the Federal election in 1993 (Bendeich 1992c).

Effects of environmental pressures

The total effects of the uncertainty outlined above are a topic of considerable debate. The President of the Tasmanian Chamber of Mines stated that $1 billion of potential mining development was at risk in Tasmania because of lack of investor confidence (Duff 1990). There have been various estimates of the loss of potential employment to the state caused by abandoned plans. In the area of forest resources, the General Manager of APPM Forest Products warned that there would be no development of forest investment in Tasmania unless federal legislation supporting state guarantees was in place. The Field Labour Government planned to introduce its own resource security legislation early in 1991 to make possible the export pulp mill project for which expressions of interest have already been called (Burnie Advocate 1990 l) but this was delayed by the breakdown of the Labour-Green Accord. A leading article in *The Australian* commented that 'Wesley Vale has made the security of raw materials from green absolutism the pre-eminent question for Tasmania' (Australian: 1990).

Recent events thus appear to demonstrate that industry is trying to come to terms with the environmental movement, and that some companies are prepared to undertake considerable capital expenditure to become acceptable in the new climate of opinion and to maintain access to resources. Other companies have adapted their strategies in other ways, by deferring development plans or by rationalisation to meet the new conditions (for details see section 3.4.4). The increase in costs and the political uncertainty may lead to possible further shifts in company and government investment policies and not only inhibit expansion of existing enterprises and new developments, but could lead to more companies moving off-shore, with consequent effects on job creation, retention and the future availability of employment in Tasmania.

3.4.3 Trade union activity

In 1990, Tasmania had the highest rate of trade union membership of Australian states among full-time employees (58 per cent in a range from 40 per cent in WA) and also among part-time employees (32 per cent in a range from 20 per cent in WA) (Tasmania, Department of Employment, Industrial Relations and Training 1992: 20, quoting ABS Catalogue No 6325.0. NB this survey defined employees as employed persons aged 15-69 who worked for an employer for wages or salary or in their own business, either with or without employees, if that business was a limited liability company.)

The traditional picture of union activity emphasises demarcation disputes between unions and conflict with employers over sackings of workers. Union activities reported in the Tasmanian media in recent years show changing preoccupations. With a few exceptions,

there appears to have been acceptance of redundancies, especially where these have been discussed and planned in advance, with redundancy packages negotiated. The main issues have been award restructuring, including manning levels, multi-skilling and training, and the contracting out of ancillary services, particularly transport. Three developments have been of particular interest. The first is the institution for the first time in Australia of an enterprise union agreement at Southern Aluminium at Bell Bay (McGee and Tingle 1989), an interesting example of an innovative approach in the metal industries where both management and unions might be thought conservative and one which possibly reflects the original Japanese influence in the enterprise. The second is the development of conflict between types of transport contracting at Forest Resources' Long Reach woodchip mill (Launceston Examiner 1990d); owners of log trucks, members of the Transport Workers Union, subcontracted to haul logs to the mill picketed facilities of the Australian National Railways which was given contracts at a time when the road transporters had been stood down for five weeks. Under the terms of the settlement negotiated at a meeting of the road and rail unions with the State Government before the Federal Industrial Relations Committee, road hauliers were allowed to carry 20 000 tonnes of logs, but these would not come off the annual rail quota so that lay-offs for truck drivers remain a possibility (Caples 1990e). The third is a newly negotiated award for International Catamarans which acknowledges from both sides that existing awards are not appropriate for the new skills of aluminium welding (Hobart Saturday Mercury 1990).

Recent moves by unions in Tasmania in general have been reactive rather than initiating action, and consist largely of fighting rearguard actions and monitoring wider processes being played out on their local turf. Unions are becoming more involved in negotiating conditions of work for the future, recognising that the nature as well as the number of jobs is changing and to a limited extent moving towards unions working together with management. In 1992, however, there was a very public setback to such rapprochement in militant reaction, including picketing, at APPM's Burnie Mill to unilateral action by the North Group (Moore 1992).

These and similar signs of widening rifts between employers and unions are related to deregulation. The moves towards labour market reform and away from the concept of national awards towards enterprise bargaining are part of the increasing power of employers in the context of high levels of unemployment; in times of full employment and union power there is restricted possibility of award changes or new work practices. Union amalgamations are increasing the division:

> ... union amalgamations are moving the new organisations further away from the direction desired by the employers, that is, away from more enterprise-specific unions ... (Blunden 1992: 77).

The new workplace culture envisaged by the Australian Department of Industrial Relations (1991) is at risk as employers and particularly the management of some big organisations try to erode union power by attacking compulsory union membership, and attempt to build employer-employee relations at the expense of union power. Deregulation of the labour market in New Zealand and the development of labour contracts (Duncan 1992b) has led to fears that the New Right in Australia wish to follow suit, and that Tasmania and Victoria, with Liberal state governments, may be used as testing grounds.

3.4.4 Rationalisation

Rationalisation, involving cutbacks in production capacity and possibly relocations and/or closure (Massey and Meegan 1985a), appeared to work in Tasmania's favour in the short term when textile and clothing firms relocated to the State, some bringing new technology, to take advantage of less organised labour and fewer on-costs. More recently, reduction in demand has led to closures in the clothing and engineering industries and cutbacks in capacity in paper making and pigment manufacture. In general, the reasons cited for closures were a mixture of federal and state actions, the cumulative economic climate and individual actions in the form of withdrawal of federal protection, decreases in world metal prices, increases in real wages, payroll tax, and power and freight charges, downturn in trade and changes in buying habits and fashions. It is important to see these reactions as deliberate, purposive actions and not the impersonal working out of economic mechanisms.

The emphasis here is on the processes being employed to allow firms to remain competitive. Individual firms may therefore feature under more than one heading as they worked their way through perceived options open to them. However, before reviewing the changes in general, the situation of the Edgell-Birds Eye plants in the northwest of Tasmania is detailed as it encapsulates many of the potentials of rationalisation in the quest for increased efficiency, productivity, competitiveness and profit.

<u>The Edgell-Birds Eye case</u>

The Edgell-Birds Eye plants in Tasmania at Ulverstone and Devonport are two of the eleven Australian plants owned by Petersville Sleigh Ltd (Petersville), form part of one of the four food divisions of the company, and process, can and freeze vegetables grown locally by contract. In April 1991, Petersville succeeded in gaining financial independence from the Adelaide Steamship Co Ltd (Adsteam) whose financial difficulties were complicated by a very complex series of cross holdings. This was done through a major debt restructuring package of $475 million involving a 24 bank consortium (James 1991a, b). In August 1991, Pacific Dunlop, a diversified manufacturing group with no other food interests, won strategic control of Petersville and began to implement a four part plan: first, to review Petersville's overheads; second, to initiate reform at grower level; third,

to rationalise and upgrade the factories; and fourth, to expand Petersville's product range. The potato processing plant at Manjimup in West Australia was threatened with closure unless it could be made export-oriented and internationally competitive. The changes made there are now setting the precedent for all Petersville's food plants, and it has been made clear that unless a factory can be made internationally competitive in the prices it pays for produce and in packaging, processing, management and labour costs, it will be closed. According to the managing director of Pacific Dunlop:

> We are now debating issues such as how many factories Edgell should operate, where they should be located and how to achieve the best grower, labour and management practices. ... [W]ithin the food industry there are some very high growth categories. Our first task is to ensure the base operation is achieving the profitability and efficiencies we want. We will then graft those growth markets on to Petersville (Shoebridge 1991: 46, 49).

In August 1991, their aggressive pricing policies were reported under the headline 'Edgell's low prices put Tassie growers on edge' (Ford 1991). The subsumption of the contract growers into the manufacturing system and their retraining to achieve 'world-best' standards are particularly significant. The chilling implications of change of ownership are very clear, and have yet to be fully worked out in Tasmania.

In the meantime, the ground rules for the future of the potato processing plant at Ulverstone, which employs between 250 and 400 depending on the season, have been spelled out by the manager of Pacific Dunlop's food division: that spending $20 to $30 million on upgrading the out-dated factory to a world-efficient export plant, exporting 50 per cent of its production instead of the current two to three per cent, depended on certain commitments being made by various groups. The first is a commitment from the Federal Government that the freight equalisation scheme will not be altered for the rest of this decade, together with some help in developing export markets. The second is help from the State Government in retraining the workforce, plus some relief from payroll tax, and the third, a commitment from growers, management and workers to operate more efficiently. The total requirement is a 30 per cent increase in competitiveness to be achieved by manipulation of workers, managers, contractors, the TDA, and two levels of government, backed by the knowledge that capital is more mobile than labour and that local employment is badly needed. Decisions and actions of the sort illustrated by Pacific Dunlop's relations with Petersville and Edgell-Birds Eye are taking place throughout Tasmania; this example clearly shows the extensive ramifications of such changes.

Job shedding in general

During the period 1976 to 1986, Tasmania's employment rate was less able than Australia's in general to accommodate the growth of the labour force (see Table 3.29). Work on the manufacturing sector during this period (Hood 1987, 1988) showed that strategies of expansion resulted in increasing employment levels in indigenous firms, both

owner-managed and manager-operated, oriented towards the local market, while strategies of rationalisation and capital intensification of existing operations maintained or increased output but reduced employment in non-locally owned operations. Between 1980 and 1985 Tasmania's 459 manufacturing establishments realised a net loss of 337 full-time employees and a net gain of 504 part-time employees. This continued the decline in full-time employment which had occurred since 1970, for which two reasons were identified: that part-time employment provided an alternative to redundancy in rationalisation; and in the case of new employees gave a flexible ability to decrease staffing levels later without incurring redundancy costs. Non-locally owned manufacturing firms decreased full-time employment by 1 134 (7 per cent) and increased part-time employment by 210 (43 per cent), the biggest decrease being in those engaged in resource-based and filtered-down manufacturing for markets outside Tasmania. The four largest manufacturing firms (APPM, EZ, ANM and Comalco) shed 871 jobs, most of them within production, engineering and maintenance, partly as the result of subcontracting out maintenance functions to indigenous companies. The indigenous firm sector had a net increase of 797 (9 per cent) in full-time employment and 298 (51 per cent) in part-time employment.

Thus, by 1985, 26 967 persons were employed in manufacturing in Tasmania, the 85 non-locally owned firms accounted for 61 per cent (including 60 per cent of all female labour), and local 39 per cent. The four largest (APPM, EZ, ANM and Comalco) between them employed 7 360 persons, 27 per cent of all manufacturing employment. The concentration had increased as the result of NBH's acquisition of APPM in 1983 and EZ in 1984 (all figures from Hood 1988: Chs 3 and 6). Table 3.30 illustrates the growth of the North Group's employment in Tasmania, the growth in the group's dependence on its Tasmanian operations and by implication therefore the growth of its dependence on access to local resources.

Table 3.29 Employment and labour force growth 1976-1981 and 1981-1986, Tasmania and Australia

Years	Employment growth %		Labour force growth %		Labour force/ employment	
	Tas	Aus	Tas	Aus	Tas	Aus
1976-81	7.00	8.72	7.53	9.50	1.09	1.04
1981-86	5.32	7.62	4.79	6.77	1.10	1.05

Source: Felmingham and Rutherford (1989: 420)

Table 3.30 The North Group's employment in Tasmania 1982-1985

Date	Total NBH/North Group employment	Number employed in Tasmania	Percentage of total NBH/North Group
30 June 1982	1078	nil	nil
30 June 1983 after APPM	5194	2929	56
30 June 1984	5110	2913	57
30 June 1985 after EZ	8164	5552	68

Source: North Broken Hill Holdings Ltd Annual Reports 1982-1985

Table 3.31 gives the number of unemployed (seasonally adjusted except where stated) after 1986, as a background to the details of individual enterprises. The numbers are given, rather than rate of unemployment, since the latter varies with the size of the labour force, and the actual number of unemployed is probably the biggest impact of labour market changes on local areas at the level of individuals and households. Similarly, the numbers are given for those employed with the female figures divided into full-time and part-time. The male labour force stood at 126 300 at the beginning of the period and is only slightly bigger at 128 200 in June 1992, reaching its highest in September 1990 at 132 300. The number of males in employment is at its lowest at 110 700 in June 1992 and those unemployed highest in September 1992 at 16 900. The female labour force increased from 71 700 in March 1987 to 88 800 in September 1992, but its highs and lows both in total and for full-time and part-time are more scattered, reflecting the more volatile nature of the female labour market. In September 1992, however, there were only 1 200 more full-time than part-time employed females, the closest that the two sets of figures have come, and a clear indicator of a significant and ongoing trend in female employment.

The volatility of the female labour market was underlined in the Quarterly Labour Market Report with the publication of the gross flows between labour force states for the three months ending March 1990 shown in Figure 3.6, with the following comment:

> ... despite the relatively small changes in the number of persons in employment, unemployment and not-in-the-labour-force (NILF) during the quarter, quite considerable flows occur between each of these states. ... Closer inspection of the statistics [unpublished data on microfiche] shows that the majority of these flows occurred amongst women, clearly a measure of the more volatile female labour market ... flows into employment are greater from persons NILF than from unemployment and the major flow into full-time employment is from part-time employment. This suggests that the transition from unemployment to full-time employment is not the dominant flow ... (Tasmania, DET 1990: 16).

Employment shifts by industry sector over the last decade show that although jobs have grown by almost 21 000, the positive and negative growth has varied by sector (Table 3.32). The source of this table is the Trust Bank's publication, the *Tasmanian Economic*

Table 3.31 Numbers unemployed and employed in Tasmania 1987-1991

Three months to:	Males unemployed 000s	Females unemployed 000s	Males employed 000s	Females employed full-time 000s*	Females employed part-time 000s*
March 1987	11.9	7.9	114.4	41.7	30.0
June 1987	11.9	8.3	114.0	39.2	32.0
Sept 1987	11.0	8.2	113.9	41.3	29.7
Dec 1987	11.3	7.0	114.9	41.9	32.9
March 1988	11.4	8.6	117.1	43.4	32.7
June 1988	11.1	8.3	117.6	42.1	35.5
Sept 1988	11.7	8.5	117.1	41.0	33.7
Dec 1988	11.6	9.4	115.4	38.7	33.6
March 1989	11.4	8.6	114.3	37.7	31.7
June 1989	11.1	7.9	115.0	39.6	35.2
Sept 1989	10.4	8.5	117.7	40.7	36.6
Dec 1989	10.2	8.6	118.8	43.1	37.3
March 1990	10.4	7.3	118.3	43.5	35.1
June 1990	12.3	7.4	118.9	45.0	35.1
Sept 1990	13.4	8.0	118.9	43.8	35.9
Dec 1990	12.3	7.9	117.5	44.6	36.4
March 1991	13.5	8.6	115.4	44.3	36.0
June 1991	14.7	9.6	113.1	43.1	37.0
Sept 1991	15.2	9.4	112.6	43.0	37.8
Dec 1991	15.0	8.8	112.1	43.0	36.8
Mar 1992	15.1	8.6	110.8	42.4	36.2
June 1992	16.1	9.3	110.7	40.2	37.9
Sept 1992	16.9	9.2	111.3	40.4	39.2

Source: ABS Labour Force Survey in DET and DEIRT Quarterly Labour Market Reports March 1987 to Summer 1992. Figures seasonally adjusted except for *

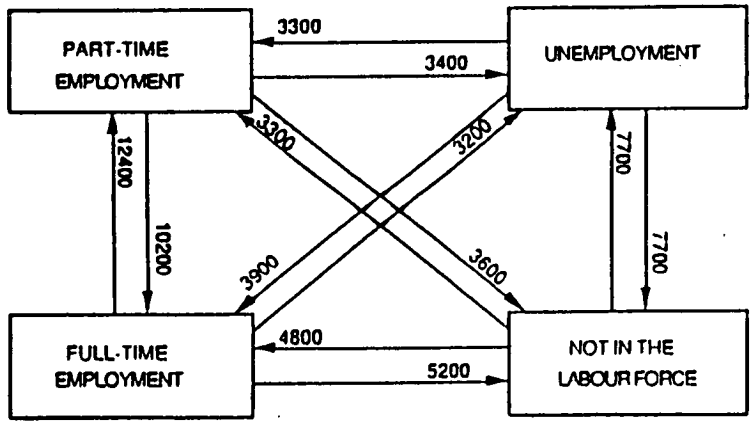


Fig. 3.6 Gross flows between labour force states, persons, March quarter 1990
Source: Tasmania: DET (1990: 16)

Review, which makes possible an overview up to 1991, which can not be done with the industry figures used earlier in this chapter until the data from the July 1991 Census of Population and Housing are published. The table also compares the level of employment

Table 3.32 Employment shifts by industry sector, Tasmania 1981-1991

Industry sector	Employment gain (+) loss (-)	Change compared to average
Agric, forestry, fishing and hunting	+3025	+1354
Mining	-938	-1443
Manufacturing	+1023	-2342
Electricity, gas and water	-146	-591
Construction	-3640	-5511
Wholesale and retail trade	+6177	+2240
Transport and storage	+936	-18
Communications and FIRE*	+2977	+1013
Public administration and defence	+2147	+1094
Community services	+6630	+2973
Recreation and personal services	+2790	+1332
Total employment change	+20980	

Source Tasmanian Economic Review (1991: 2)
* Finance, insurance and real estate

in each sector with the jobs which would have been generated if each sector had been able to maintain the overall average rate of increase in employment over the ten years. This emphasises the extent of the shift, with the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector generating 1 354 more jobs than would have been expected under conditions of average employment growth, the service, recreation business and retail trade 8 500 more jobs. It underlines the area of major job losses, with employment in mining, utilities and construction about 7 000 less than would be expected by the average growth rate, and manufacturing showing growth but nevertheless generating 2 300 less jobs than would have been expected. Within the manufacturing sector, food and beverage processing and manufacture went against the trend but was more than compensated for by losses of employment in the basic metals trades and the wood and paper-based industries (Tasmanian Economic Review 1991).

Tables 3.31 and 3.32 provide a picture of unemployment increasing from just under 20 000 at the start of 1987 to 25 000 at the end of 1991 with a marked increase from 1990, and job losses concentrated in the sectors of mining, manufacturing and electricity, gas and water. There was a short period of strong growth in 1989 to 1990, partly due to personal tax cuts, high retail sales and increased production and before the significant rises in mortgage interest rates and the slowdown of the 'overheated' economy took effect. In the period 1990 to 1992, however, there was job shedding in many of the State's big enterprises as a result of a variety of strategies to increase competitiveness on the world market or to maintain viability. Local rationalisation, in the form of job shedding, relocations and

closures are given in some detail next, since they serve to illustrate the complex interactions between capital, labour and two levels of government.

Job shedding in detail

In the mining industry, the mines owned by Renison Goldfields Consolidated and in particular the Renison tin mine were most affected: 80 workers were made redundant in April 1990 and a further 96 workers in March 1991, when the company announced that it would only open five days per week and aimed at changing or abolishing some of the traditional allowances for underground work (Tapp 1990b; Hobart Mercury 1991a). Industrial trouble led to the closure of the mine for two weeks in March 1991. About 150 workers left the mine and a new agreement was negotiated which included the five day week and substantial pay cuts. The numbers accepting the new agreement were initially 207, leaving the mine short of skilled tradesmen which it intended to recruit from around Australia (Hobart Mercury 1991d). The Mt Lyell Co, also owned by Renison Goldfields Consolidated, made 80 workers redundant in April 1990 (Launceston Examiner 1990a) and was given an ultimatum by the parent company to solve its production problems within six months or face closure (Watson 1990). Pasminco Rosebery sacked 90 workers in March 1991 as world zinc prices slumped to a 20 year low (Simpson 1991). Savage River Mines planned to cut its workforce by 190 by August 1990 in a major restructuring of operations for the next five years (Hobart Mercury 1990e). In the metal and engineering industries, Pasminco EZ will have reduced its workforce by 300 by the end of its modernisation program (Hobart Southern Star 1990), and Delta Hydraulics made 30 workers redundant in June 1990 (Burnie Advocate 1990e) and a further 13 in September 1990. Tioxide Ltd, in an uncertain situation in which the possibility of development at the current site at Heybridge, relocation to Bell Bay and closure have all been discussed, retrenched 106 workers in July 1990 (Burnie Advocate 1990g). Comalco shed 27 jobs in December 1989 as a result of new labour-saving technology (Maguire 1990) and in July 1991 reduced its Bell Bay workforce by 7.5 per cent (80 jobs), mainly through voluntary early retirement (Hobart Mercury 1991c). After several previous warnings, in February 1992 Comalco again raised the question of closure; this has been seen as a means of pressuring the Liberal government into further power concessions (Chung and Diwell 1992).

In the pulp and paper industry, APPM Wesley Vale retrenched 70 of its workforce in April 1990 with a downturn in the market (Burnie Advocate 1990b) and offered redundancies to older workers at APPM Triabunna to eliminate the night shift. Early in 1992, APPM warned of possible job losses in Tasmania because of the collapse of price talks with Japanese buyers, and at APPM Wesley Vale in particular after it lost a Telecom Australia contract (Simpson 1992). By August 1992, after industrial trouble in April, APPM announced plans to shed another 400 jobs (25 per cent of the workforce) at its Burnie and Wesley Vale plants within 18 months along with new workplace agreements based on required efficiencies (Prismall 1992). At ANM's Boyer Mill the abandoning of plans for a

new light-weight coated paper line because of market conditions led to plans for laying off 150 workers. In other forest related enterprises, Clennett's made nine workers redundant at Tasma Hardwoods with the closure of the saw mill, and a further nine at Riverdale Timbers Pty Ltd with the closure of the planer (Burnie Advocate 1990h) while at the end of 1992, APPM announced the imminent closure of the Massey Green saw mill at Burnie with the loss of 37 jobs (Hobart Mercury 1992f).

In the public sector, 2 200 state public service employees, principally in education and health, were made redundant as a result of the CRESAP recommendations discussed in section 3.4.1. The State Authorities Management Act 1990 introduced a requirement for the HEC to operate in a commercial manner. In the period June 1987 to June 1991, employment levels in the HEC had been reduced by about 100 (Tasmania, Hydro Electric Commission 1991). In June 1991, it was announced that 60 jobs would be lost in rationalisation replacing regional control centres by a Hobart-based control system, and that the HEC would shed up to 200 jobs outside its construction sites by a voluntary redundancy program as part of cost-cutting measures, said to be the result of a cut in government funding of $8.1 million in 1991 (Simpson 1991).

Table 3.33 Changes in employment by the four largest manufacturing employers, 1985-1992

	1985	Jan/Feb 1992 [4]
APPM Paper Division		
Burnie Mill	1366 [1]	1363
Wesley Vale Mill	574 [1]	496
APPM Forest Products	465 [2]	572
ANM Boyer	1530 [3]	686 [5]
Comalco	1100	'just under 1000'

Source etc: [1] APPM (1985)
[2] excluding woodchip operation, from Hood (1988)
[3] including ANM Maydena forest operations, from Hood (1988) In 1989, there were 1050 employed at the Boyer Mill (Hobart Mercury 2.6.89)
[4] phone calls to paymaster/personnel officer 25 Feb 1992
[5] Boyer Mill only

Table 3.34 Recent job losses in Tasmania

	Date	Jobs lost	Reason
Mines			
Renison	Apr 90	80	decline in world zinc prices
	Feb 90	96	ditto, low costs in Brazil
Mt Lyell	Apr 90	80	reducing costs
Savage River•	Aug 90*	190	major restructuring
	Apr 1993	490*	to close 1995- lack of markets
KI Scheelite•	Nov 90	89	Chinese domination of world market with low costs
Metals etc			
Comalco	Dec 89	27	new technology
	July 91	80	competition from new smelters in Canada and France
Pasminco EZ	1990 on	300	modernisation program
ANI•	Nov 89	60	failure of pulp mill plan
Delta Hydraulics	June 90	30	failure of pulp mill plan and downturn
	Sept 90	13	in local engineering work
Tioxide	June 90	106	fall in national demand for paint because of recession in construction industry
Pioneer Silicon•	Aug 91	64	falling prices
Southern Aluminium	Feb 92	30	decline in demand in car industry
Tristeel Engineering•	June 91	100	decline in demand
Robbins Pty Ltd•	1991	26	reduction in new HEC schemes
Pulp, paper and timber			
APPM Wes. Vale	Apr 90	70	downturn in demand
APPM Triabunna	late 90	12	reorganisation of production to eliminate night shift
APPM Massey Green sawmill•	Dec 92	37	Closed
ANM	1990 on	150	abandonment of plans for new line so had to cut workforce
Clennetts	Oct 90	18	closure of planer and sawmill
APM Pt Huon•	June 91	116	lack of demand
APPM, ANM veneer	Oct 92	59	rationalisation between companies
Furniture			
Paragon•	Mar 90	20	parent co in financial trouble
Textiles, clothing			
Sterling•	Nov 88	102	changes in fashion & demand
Norsewear•	1989	15	over-extension of NZ parent
S. Garments•	May 90	100	tariff reductions
Gazal•	Sept 90	142	increase in costs and national downturn in trade
Skellerup (and Brumby•)	Oct 90	50+	rationalisation of NZ parent
Food processing			
Hawkridge Meat Works•	Dec 91	60	rural downturn
Daffodil•	Dec 91	30	Taken over by GFW & closed
Wander•	Oct 92*	106	Rationalisation by Swiss parent
Public			
Public service	1990	2200	CRESAP recommendations
HEC	1991	160	commercialisation

* by date specified ** over the term of the modernisation program • closure

Table 3.33 summarises the changes in employment in the four largest industrial employers. Table 3.34 summarises the job losses already delineated and those caused by closures discussed in the next section. Table 3.33 demonstrates the difficulty of obtaining information about employment at a time when job shedding is a sensitive issue. Company annual reports give much detail about production and, for the majority, only generalised statements or aggregate figures for employment, often including contractors and even indirect employment. The figures obtained by phone calls to paymasters or personnel officers suggest that although the downward trend continues, earlier rationalisation is still effective. Some of the companies, however, have been quoted in the media as having further long term plans for reducing labour levels by long term voluntary redundancies or other measures.

Closures

Several enterprises closed down over the period; the earlier closures were principally in the textiles and clothing sector where seven firms have been in difficulties. The Sterling Clothing Company of Devonport, a subsidiary of Pelaco Australia Ltd which opened in 1985, employing 102 workers and making denim jeans, closed in 1988 due to changes in fashion and demand (Thorne 1988).

Southern Garment Co Pty Ltd relocated from Victoria in 1985 with the help of loans from the TDA. It set up in Invermay, Launceston, employing something over 100 workers making boys and girls shorts, jeans and trousers for the chain store market. After plans to move to a new site in Launceston and to expand production and employment, it suddenly closed in May 1990. The company's other factory in Bendigo had closed earlier in 1990. The company blamed the withdrawal of federal protection from the industry. According to the managing director

> ... when the Launceston factory opened five years ago, it was economic to make school jeans which took 12 minutes to manufacture. With the first lowering of tariffs, economics dictated the manufacture of cheaper pants taking 10 minutes. Then the mathematics changed to shorts requiring eight minutes labour. Now garments which take four minutes can compete with imports, but next year it will be down to two minutes (Launceston Examiner 1990b).

Gazal Productions (Tasmania) Pty Ltd opened a factory in Glenorchy in 1987 and its employment grew from over 20 to 167. The Gazal Group then owned 38 factories in Australia, and cited workers compensation being lower in Tasmania than on the mainland as a reason for opening a factory in the State. They took advantage of an assistance package from the TDA, including help with site development and a $1.3 million loan for the factory (Hobart Mercury 1988b). The company, whose manager won the Tasmanian Business Executive of the Year Award in 1989, had a Taylorist style of management, but nevertheless had worker support, against union advice, during 1989 when staff took early leave and rostered days off during a downturn in trade. In April 1990, there were questions

over the future of the company and a switch was made from budget lines to high fashion lingerie. The company closed in September 1990 when it had 142 employees, at about the same time as four of the Group's mainland factories. The company blamed an eight per cent increase in electricity and freight, two per cent increase in payroll tax and 21 per cent increase in real wages in the last two years. In addition, the company anticipated a further 17 per cent to 20 per cent blowout in the wages bill because of award restructuring, compulsory superannuation and cost-of-living adjustments. Federal changes in tariffs were also cited. Both Gazal and Southern Garments commented that major retailers had cut their orders as a result of the national downturn of trade, and Gazal has since closed more mainland factories (Hills 1992).

Two New Zealand firms, Skellerup Industries Ltd and Norsewear Industries Ltd, set up subsidiary companies and factories in Tasmania with financial and other assistance from the TDA. Skellerup opened in George Town in 1985 employing over 50 workers, to manufacture waterproof clothing mainly for sailing. Norsewear opened in 1988 at Cambridge near Hobart Airport employing about 15 workers to make socks and jumpers. In December 1988, a year after the parent company in Christchurch was taken over by Brierley Investments Ltd, Skellerup's George Town factory was sold to Dentrac Investment Pty Ltd trading as Brumby Clothing (Saturday Mercury 1988) and subsequently closed in 1990. Norsewear was put into receivership by the TDA and closed in 1989 (Grosvenor 1992).

The Waverley Woollen Mills at Launceston suffered a long period of difficulty, including receivership, a projected joint venture with a Chinese company in wool scouring, closure and eventual sale and re-opening (Caples 1990d). Some of its problems stemmed from the long term effects on its principal market for blankets of changes in buying habits in relation to electric blankets and doonas. Although it only employed 50 staff in the factory, it used 118 outworkers (Launceston Examiner 1990b).

The president of the Tasmanian Trades and Labour Council, and State Secretary of both the Clothing and Allied Trade Union and the Miscellaneous Workers Union asserted that the Gazal factory and others like it were doomed to failure. The clothing union had warned the previous Liberal Government and the TDA that textile industry projects faced a lowered tariff wall and fierce competition from low-cost Asian countries.

> Textile manufacturers were encouraged by the Tasmanian Employment Program, offering $5 000 an employee over two to three years, and other financial and industrial incentives to set up in Tasmania. To get a marginal advantage over their competitors some companies relocated from other states. The result was that Tasmania was committed to expenditure of millions of dollars without any long term prospects (Johnston 1990b: 5).

In addition, the Australian National Industries Ltd engineering plant in Launceston closed in November 1989 with the loss of 60 jobs because of the export pulp mill at Wesley Vale

not proceeding. The specialised plant, which local firms had urged the State Government to save, was sold to Tas Engineering Services at Somerset (Caples 1990a). Tristeel Engineering in Glenorchy closed in June 1991 with the loss of 100 jobs. A further engineering works to close was Robbins Pty Ltd of Kingston, an offshoot of a US firm in Seattle which employed 26 skilled tradesmen; the reduction in new HEC power schemes is said to be the reason for the company relocating in Victoria (Hobart Southern Star 1991). The Paragon Industries' office furniture factory in Glenorchy, bought by TasEquity Ltd in 1988 (Jenkin 1988a) closed in 1990 with virtually no notice, and a loss of more than 20 jobs (Moore 1990a). NBHP's scheelite mine at Grassy on King Island closed late in 1990 with a loss of 89 jobs. Warning had been given six months earlier that the mine would close if a buyer could not be found. Chinese production dominates the world scheelite market, and prices have declined steadily over the last ten years (Burnie Advocate 1990f). The Hawkridge Meat Co closed its meat works at Quoiba early in 1991 with the loss of up to 60 jobs (Burnie Advocate 1990k), and the Wander Company, also at Quoiba, closed its Ovaltine factory at Devonport in 1992 with the loss of 106 jobs, and putting at risk jobs at the neighbouring Joe White Maltings and Containers Packaging (Thorne 1991). The joint venture between Pioneer Silicon Industries Pty Ltd and Pechiney Australia Pty Ltd, formed in 1984 to manufacture silicon at Electrona, where carbide production ended in 1981, closed down in August 1991 with the loss of 64 jobs in the area south of Hobart hit by several other closures (Chung 1991b). The site was sold for only half a million dollars to Hazell Bros, a locally owned transport firm, for unspecified purposes, and has raised again the question of public subsidies and why the state government had got nothing from the sale (Hobart Mercury 1992a; Chung 1992a). In addition there was a major closure in the pulp and paper sector; APM closed the Port Huon mill at the end of July 1991 thereby ending 116 jobs (Lester 1991).

Rural rationalisation

The agricultural sector is often thought of as being a fairly stable element of the economy and a small part of the labour market which has a long tradition of enduring fluctuations of fortune, taking the bad years with the good by careful investment. Recent events in Tasmania, which still has a relatively high proportion of agricultural employment overall because of the number of small dairy and horticultural enterprises, illustrate that restructuring in the global economy can produce effects which may yet result in further restructuring of agricultural employment. The readjustment has marked sectoral and spatial variations, some of which, as indicated in the Edgell-Birds Eye example, are closely linked to restructuring in processing industries within diversified conglomerates.

Lawrence (1990) identifies the main factors and trends in restructuring agriculture in Australian in general as the end of legislation that bound family farm agriculture to state marketing monopolies; tariff removal (supported by farmers); deregulation of the financial system; a push towards labour market deregulation; agribusiness strengthening

its position; some farmers leaving the land; and for farmers in general declining income, increasing debt, reduction in the amount of employed labour and greater levels of off-farm employment by farm family members.

Table 3.35 shows the principal trends in Tasmanian agricultural production since 1985, including up to 1989/90, a substantial increase in the production of vegetables and onions in particular, an increase in hops and grapes production, a ten per cent growth in the number of sheep and lambs kept and marked declines in butter production and labour intensive berry and small fruit production Agricultural statistics for 1990-1991 (ABS Cat No 7113.6 and 7114.6), however, show a downturn in the state's rural industries with sheep-grazing and vegetable cropping the most affected. The value of the wool clip fell by almost 30 per cent from $163 million in 1989-1990 to $117 million in 1990-1991. Wool production fell by 14 per cent in the same period, and the state's sheep numbers were reduced by 10 per cent from 5.3 million to 4.8 million, reflecting the slump in demand for Australian wool, the subsequent abandonment of the wool reserve price scheme in February 1991 and the introduction of the flock reduction scheme. The area under vegetable production fell by 11.5 per cent from 18 300 hectares to 16 200 hectares due to the reduction in demand by the processing industry. Potato production fell by 21 per cent, and pea production by almost 13 per cent. Onions were the only vegetable to show increased production, rising by almost 12 per cent and continuing the earlier trend. The area under poppy production for the two

Table 3.35 Changes in agricultural production, Tasmania 1985/86 to 1989/90

Year/ Commodity	1985/86	1989/90	% change 85/86-89/90	1990/91	% change 89/90 -90/91
Cattle for meat 000s	368.6	432.8	17.4	444.4	2.3
Cattle for milk 000s	140.5	136.2	-3.1	139.9	2.7
Sheep and lambs 000s	4 822.5	5 336.8	10.7	4 803.9	-10.0
Wool tonnes	24 994	27 065	8.3	23 270	-14.0
Whole milk million litres	351	345	-1.7	363	5.2
Cheese tonnes	16 695	18 172	8.9	19 413	6.8
Butter tonnes	6 180	5 051	-18.3	5 381	6.5
Apples tonnes	•56 983	57 279	0.5	45 290	-20.9
Stone fruit tonnes	273	265	-2.9	290	9.4
Berries & small fruit tonnes	887	669	-24.6	600	-10.3
Grapes tonnes	•139	693	398.6	770	11.1
Hops tonnes	•1 178	1 489	26.4	2 001	34.4
Peas tonnes	27 318	30 485	11.5	26 660	-12.5
Onions tonnes	31 411	65 705	109 2	73 420	11.7
Beans tonnes	10 984	13 746	25.2	10 410	-23.3
Potatoes tonnes	•193 485	297 488	53.7	235 470	-20.8
Other vegetables	21 136	34 724	64.3	26 620	-23.3

Source: ABS Catalogue No 7113.6
• 1985/6 includes establishments with an estimated value of operations between $2 500 and $20 000 where no adjustment to provide comparability was available.

foreign owned processors also increased by 57 per cent from 4 140 hectares to 6 500 hectares in the 1990-1991 season.

Agricultural problems in Tasmania have recently centred on the wool industry although problems of dumping and of tariffs have also emerged. The abolition of tariffs is supported by farmers on the basis that prices of inputs such as fuel, farm machinery and fertilisers would fall. Specific farmers, however, may lose by the manipulation of tariffs in the interim period. Apple growers especially in northern Tasmania have complained that the dumping of concentrated apple juice from Chile and New Zealand has been affecting their market (Webb 1990). Potato growers are concerned over the possibility of the Federal Government cutting tariffs on Canadian potatoes and potato products in return for tariff-free access for Australian producers to the Canadian canned fruit market (Hobart Mercury 1990f). As Tasmanian growers supply about 70 per cent of Australia's frozen French fries, and jobs at processors such as Edgells and McCains are also at stake, there are considerable regional employment implications to the decision. Low commodity prices, however, are largely out of the hands of government, being controlled by international demand and subsidy policies of foreign governments; the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiations are only likely to produce a slow phasing out of subsidies.

Low commodity prices are not the sole cause of the crisis in the wool growing industry. The chairman of the Tasmanian Farmers and Graziers Association suggested that the collapse of the wool market since the boom of 1988 can be attributed to several factors: the general economic downturn; an oversupply of wool due to increase in flock numbers; recent warmer winters in Europe resulting in a reduced demand for woollen clothes; the closure of the Chinese market after the Tianamen Square massacre; and the Soviet Union defaulting on wool payments of $140 million (Pos 1990). An understanding, however, of the Australian Wool Corporation (AWC) and its reserve price scheme is critical to seeing those more specific events in context. The reserve price scheme, which had worked for 17 years, in 1990 had a stockpile of wool bought for $3.5 billion, the result of trying to maintain an above market price for 18 months. Until 1987 there had been a reasonable link between the market and the reserve price, which weakened public debate about its abolition. The scheme was, however, incompatible with a floating exchange rate. The wool oversupply caused the AWC to lose its judgment and the more wool it bought the more buyers saw it was doomed and withheld buying until prices dropped. The fall-off in demand did not trigger a slowdown in supply and wool production climbed 17 per cent during 1989/90 (Kelly 1991).

A quota scheme proposed by AWC aims to reduce Australia's annual wool production to 750 million kg by imposing an across the board quota of about 75 per cent of the 12 months production up to 2 November 1990 on all woolgrowers irrespective of their long term wool

production. Superfine wool (of 18.5 microns or finer) has been exempt from this quota scheme after concern was expressed by Japanese and European wool buyers; there is no superfine wool in the stockpile, and superfine represents less than half a per cent of the Australian total. The Australian Wool Corporation's sheep slaughter scheme for 20 million sheep, (one million in Tasmania) to be slaughtered at growers' expense during 1991 was also criticised; growers felt that it was the responsibility of flock owners to decide on the disposal of surplus sheep. The market, however, for mutton as opposed to lamb is small, and local facilities for production of blood and bone fertiliser are estimated only to be able to process about 10 per cent of the million sheep that the plan calls for to be slaughtered in Tasmania.

Although there will be local benefits from the exemption of superfine wool, the areas of Tasmania likely to be most affected by the wool crisis are the Midlands and Flinders Island, which are still the most important wool-growing areas, although many Midlands farms have significant, if small, alternative sources of income such as poppy growing. Sheep are, however, also important in most other agricultural areas of the state. The Tasmanian Department of Primary Industry has estimated that 3 000 people could lose their jobs (Pos 1990).

Restructuring in farming has entailed state assistance to attempt to minimise problems of 'asset rich, money poor' in relation to eligibility for social security payments, finding capital to change commodities, and in the worst case selling up and moving off the land. The Rural Adjustment Scheme (RAS) administered by all state governments is split into three parts. Part A consists of cheap loans for farmers to restructure their enterprises out of one commodity and into another. Part B is for carry-on finance for farmers in short-term difficulty but with long-term viability, and Part C is cash for farmers being asked to quit properties or choosing to leave of their own accord. The scheme has not been working well; to qualify for the dole a farmer does not need to be looking for work, but has to show that his farm is not presently viable, and that he can not get access to funds (from a bank or sale of other assets) but that the farm would be viable in the long term. If the farm is unviable the only way to get help was by selling up under Part C of RAS.

In July 1991, an arrangement made between the Tasmanian and Federal governments allowed Tasmanian farmers to apply for relief for six months before putting their farms on the market but if the situation then improved as hoped, the money would have to be repaid. A revamped part C of RAS has since been announced. The Farm Household Support Scheme offers cash grants to get farmers back to the stage where they can re-access commercial loans (Carruthers 1993).

Many farm households, however, will seek to cope with a reduced income by various other means, including increased pluriactivity, taking on new ventures where feasible and

informal activities. Agricultural properties are not the only enterprises to change ownership as the result of restructuring, and processes of such change in other sectors are examined next.

3.4.5 Changes of ownership and control

There have been considerable changes of ownership of enterprises and companies in Tasmania since 1986, most noticeably in manufacturing, mining, wholesaling and retailing, involving mergers, sales and takeovers, and also cooperation between enterprises in the form of joint ventures.

Mergers

In May 1986, Coats Patons, which employs 550 in its textile factory in Launceston, merged with the UK company, Vantona Vyella Pty Ltd to form 'a powerful and well-balanced force in international textiles' Coats Viyella plc (Hobart Mercury 1986). The claim for stability despite the change appears to have been justified as the Launceston factory has been free of the employment troubles of other textile and clothing firms, but the local firm is integrated even more into the global network. In December 1987, North Broken Hill Holdings Ltd and Peko Wallsend Ltd announced plans to merge to form North Broken Hill Peko Ltd which in Tasmania now controls APPM's pulp and paper mills at Burnie and Wesley Vale through its paper division; the export pulpwood (woodchip) mills at Triabunna and on the Tamar through its forest products division; saw mills at Burnie, Wynyard and Launceston; building products operations at Wesley Vale and Somerset; and the King Island Scheelite Mine (since closed). In June 1988 the North Group merged its base metal interests with those of CRA Ltd to form Pasminco, which in Tasmania controls Pasminco Metals EZ and Pasminco Mining at Rosebery (North Broken Hill 1988). Subsequently, the holdings of CRA and the North Group were reduced to 40 per cent each. Pasminco has announced its intention to sell mainland and European plants with the object of concentrating on its Australian assets to service the growing Pacific Basin market. This asset selling is initially seen as being to the advantage of EZ Risdon. In July 1992, the North Group sold down its interest in Pasminco from 40.3 per cent to 20 per cent and CRA to 31 per cent (North Group News Release 27 July 1992) after Pasminco posted a loss of about $50 million for the second year in succession (Stevens 1992).

In 1988 ANM, which owns the Boyer Mill near New Norfolk, became 50 per cent owned by News Corporation (whch had acquired the holding from Warwick Fairfax in 1987) and 50 per cent by the New Zealand company Fletcher Challenge Ltd. ANM is Australia's only producer of newsprint but the Trade Practices Commission held that the New Zealand domination of the production and supply of newsprint was offset by benefits including a commitment from Fletcher Challenge to invest $400 million in ANM to make it more internationally competitive (Austen 1988). ANM and APPM merged their Boyer and Somerset veneer mill operations in 1992 with the loss of 59 jobs.

In July 1990 Tasmania's two largest aquaculture companies, Tassal Ltd and Tasmanian Atlantic Salmon Ltd, merged under the former name with financial help from the TDA, a situation which was regarded as threatening by some of the smaller aquaculture enterprises (Davis 1990). In December 1991, institutional and private investors bought back the 37 per cent stake in Tassal owned by Noraqua Australia, a subsidiary of the Norwegian firm Selmer Sande (Cheek 1991c). Noraqua's financial problems had previously left Tassal open to takeover bids. In February 1992 Tassal's position was further stabilised by Bankers Trust buying the ANZ shareholding of 14.5 per cent (Hobart Mercury 1992b). The company announced its first profit in 1992 despite a large surplus on world export markets from Norwegian production (Cheek 1992).

Sales

There were several sales, three of which involved enterprises which had gone into receivership, Bendigo Pottery at Deloraine (Hobart Mercury 1990d), Skellerup Clothing at George Town and Waverley Woollen Mills in Launceston; the rescue of these by individual entrepreneurs had at least temporary beneficial effects on local employment but only the Waverley operation is still open at the time of writing. Tara Towels of Devonport was acquired in 1987 by Bonds Weaving Mills, owned by Pacific Dunlop Ltd, which closed its Yarraville mill in Victoria (Hobart Mercury 1988e), and invested in new machines in Tasmania with help from the TDA to compete with Chinese towelling imports. In May 1990 it was sold to the Guthrie Group, who already owned a towelling factory in Adelaide and had previously acquired the Tascot Templeton carpet factory in Devonport. This transaction was followed by considerable pruning of local management, in which six out of ten local managers were made redundant (Francis 1990).

The third largest bread making interest in the State, Wilson's Huon Bakery Pty Ltd at Huonville was sold to Regal Bakeries, part of the Defiance Flourmilling Group of Queensland, the first entrance of a multinational bread making company into the State (Hobart Mercury 1989a). The Huon Bakery's original developer has moved into tourist development, of the Port Huon Holiday Village which is expected to add about 100 jobs to local employment.

In the rationalisation of peripheral activities, APPM sold the Wesley Vale particle board mill, now to be known as Tasmanian Wood Panels, to the Melbourne based company DIM Furniture (Australia) Pty Ltd (Launceston Examiner 1992).

Takeovers

The major takeovers involved large business organisations. Cadbury Schweppes plc (CSP) took over Cadbury Schweppes Australia Ltd (CASL) in 1988 with the object of using the Australian and New Zealand operations as the base for expansion into Asia (Zahra 1988). CASL had previously taken control of its New Zealand associate Cadbury Schweppes

Hudson in 1986 and started cross-sourcing of products. These developments will have advantages for employment at Cadbury's plant at Claremont near Hobart, which concentrates on chocolate bars and boxed chocolates within the Australian and New Zealand organisation. The boxed chocolates are a development resulting from a takeover of the US group Beatrice Foods by CSP (Shoebridge 1989), when CASL rationalised some of the newly acquired Red Tulip operations and moved plant from Melbourne to Claremont with aid from a TDA grant, creating in all about 100 jobs (Hobart Mercury 1988a). In 1992 CASL announced an $80 million investment program to boost exports, of which $28 will be spent on a high-tech block chocolate plant in Claremont to double existing capacity for block chocolate (Gluyas 1992).

Industrial Equity Ltd (IEL), at the time with substantial interests in Tasmania in food processing and retailing, was taken over by the Adelaide Steamship Company in 1989 (Launceston Examiner 1989b) after an attempted management buyout and an attempted takeover by Goodman Fielder Wattie Ltd. The new ownership and management appeared to engender a more aggressive marketing approach in the Woolworths chain of supermarkets, represented in Tasmania by Purity in the south and Roelf Vos in the north. The future of the Adsteam empire is still questionable at the time of writing but it appears that normal operations continue at the enterprise level, with a very vigorous sales war between Woolworths and Coles-Myer supermarkets, involving both intensification and capital investment in new buildings and technology. A projected float of Woolworths has not yet eventuated.

IEL had previously sold its controlling interest in the Tasmanian Brewery Company Ltd, which operates the Cascade Brewery in the south and Boags Brewery in the north, to the New Zealand group Wilson Neill Ltd which made it clear from the start that its aim was the export market (Harper 1988). Wilson Neill has since followed a strategy of divestment of peripheral interests to concentrate on its perceived core activities of beverages and seafood; it financed the purchase of the remaining 37 per cent of equity in Cascade from funds acquired by selling its real estate interests in Hawaii. Strong management both in Sydney and Hobart has led to considerable changes: success in launching a premium bottled beer on the national market with some export development; the selling of several hotels and motels previously owned by Cascade; a rationalisation of the location of the company's fruit juice and cordial operations to the Cascade Brewery site; Wilson Neill Australia Pty Ltd changing its name to the Cascade Group; and the managing director in Sydney becoming managing director of Wilson Neill while remaining based in Sydney (Hall 1990b). In New Zealand further ownership changes led to a joint venture between the retiring managing director Mr CF Herbert and Magnum Corp, a subsidiary of BIL, with 50.1 per cent of shareholdings taking control of the parent company for a short time (Hall 1990a). In December 1991, however, Wilson Neill put the

Cascade Brewery Co on the market as part of its debt reduction scheme and called for expressions of interest (Gluyas 1991). Part of the concern for the company's future lies in the area of employment; the company employs 830 directly and many other jobs are dependent on it at Australian Glass Manufacturers, J Gadsden Pty Ltd (makers of steel cans), Caled Containers (makers of plastic containers for fruit juices), APM Containers Pty Ltd and two printing firms as well as growers of hops, apples, barley and soft fruits. There is a fear that a non-local buyer might rationalise the operation and remove duplication in the north and south of the state, ignoring local beer brand loyalties (Cheek 1991b). Several bids did not match Wilson Neill's expectations, but in December 1992 Cadenza International based in London bought Magnum's 49.7 per cent stake in Wilson Neill. Despite an assurance that there would be no rationalisation and the current management would continue to run the business (Chung 1992b), in January 1993 Carlton and United Breweries (CUB) and the Cascade Group formed a joint venture , the Cascade Brewing Co Pty Ltd, to buy the Hobart Cascade Brewery and the Cascade fruit juice and soft drink division. It also gave CUB market and distribution rights to Cascade beer products outside Tasmania. The managing director of CUB referred to the

> ... outstanding opportunity to take a quality brand and develop it internationally over the next five to ten years (Gluyas 1993).

Cascade already had links with Carlton United Breweries in the Australian Pub Co Pty Ltd; none of the pubs is in Tasmania but the arrangement provided an outlet for Cascade beer (New Zealand Herald 1990).

In 1989 Goliath Cement at Railton was taken over as a wholly owned subsidiary by Cement Industries Pty Ltd (CIPL), a subsidiary of Australian Cement Ltd (ACL) the 50 per cent joint venture between CSR Ltd and Pioneer International, in order to ensure ACL's long-term access to supply (Moore 1989). A $70 million investment program was announced to raise production at Railton to one million tpa, because of a national shortage of cement with big employment increases during the construction phase (Tweed 1989). In 1990, however, the restructuring of Goliath into a unified organisational structure with CIPL led to the last of the original Goliath directors leaving the company along with some remnants of the original management (Stevens 1989, 1990).

Pickand Mather and Co International, the United States partner in Savage River Mines bought out its Japanese consortium partner in 1990, a situation which was to guarantee the mine a further life of five years (Hobart Mercury 1990e) but in November 1992 it was announced that the mine would close at the end of that time (Launceston Examiner 1992).

King Island Dairies Pty Ltd, which had been in the hands of receivers three times in the last fourteen years, was taken over by Agricorp Ltd from Transequity Ltd in 1988 (Jenkin 1988b). This has resulted in a change in strategy from bulk items (the company lost a

Table 3.36 Tasmanian Foreign-owned Manufacturing and Mining Firms December 1992

Country of Parent Firm	Parent Firm	Tasmanian Firm
United Kingdom	BP Oil	BP Oil (bitumen)
	BTR plc	Australian Glass Manufacturers; Stramit Industries
	Cadbury-Schweppes plc	Cadbury Schweppes, Cadbury Division
		Cadbury Schweppes, Drinks Division
	Glaxo plc	Glaxo
	Tioxide Group - Imperial	Tioxide
	Chemical Industries plc (ICI)	ICI Explosives
	Pilkington plc	Pilkington Distribution
	Hanson plc	Renison Goldfields Consolidated -Mt Lyell and Renison Mines; Henty Gold Prospect
	Lucas plc	Lucas Fluid Power
	Coats Viyella plc	Coats Paton
	Cadenza in jv with CUB	Cascade Brewing Co Pty Ltd
	BOC Holdings Ltd	Commonwealth Industrial Gases
	Rio Tinto Zinc *	Comalco, Bell Bay
USA	Johnson and Johnson	Tasmanian Alkaloids
	Coca-Cola Amatil	CC Bottlers
	Pickands Mather International	Savage River Mine
	Mobil Corp	Emoleum Ltd
	Sonoco Products Co SC	Sonoco Australia Pty Ltd
	Haas Investments Ltd	Australian Hop Marketers Pty Ltd
	The Stanley Works	Stanley Works Pty Ltd
Canada	McCains Foods Inc	McCains
New Zealand	Fletcher Challenge*	Australian Newsprint Mills, Boyer
France	Bongrain SA	Lactos Pty Ltd
	Liquid Air SA	Liquid Air Tasmania
Denmark	The East Asiatic Co Ltd	Kauri Timber Pty Ltd

* see notes to Table 3.1
Sources: Hood (1988), TDA (1991), Industrial Geography Database and newspaper cuttings

contract with Kraft for semi-processed cheese curd in 1982) to new, prestigious value added lines, sent by container to Melbourne mainly for marketing in Victoria and NSW. This production has had a flow-on into local agriculture as there has been not only a demand for more milk but for changes in herd management to all year production (Sunday Tasmanian 1989). Recently[1], however, dairy farmers complained of low prices and the effects of monopoly control.

[1]ABC Television: Seven Thirty Report, 15 February 1993

Clements Marshall Consolidated Pty Ltd (CMC), one of the few locally owned firms involved in takeovers, bought out its former joint venture partner Yaxley Holdings Pty Ltd so that Devlaun Pty Ltd (a prepacker and distributor of fruit and vegetables from Tasmanian and interstate sources) became a wholly owned subsidiary of CMC and Tasmanian Freight Services Pty Ltd 75 per cent owned by CMC. This was part of a concentration on the operation of food and food related business, and a withdrawal from the timber industry in which it had become involved to stave off a previous takeover attempt (Burnie Advocate 1990a).

In December 1991, the major shareholder in Daffodil Food Products Pty Ltd, Goodman Fielder Wattie, succeeded in buying the remaining shares in the Glenorchy margerine manufacturer and a few days later the factory was shut down, the operation being transferred interstate and 30 jobs lost (Cheek 1991a).

Joint ventures

In addition there has been considerable development of joint ventures involving interests in Tasmania, notably the failed export pulp mill project which was a joint venture of North Broken Hill and the Canadian company Noranda Ltd. A university study (Australia, Department of Industry, Technology and Commerce 1990) has commented on the possibilities of imbalances creating management difficulties in strategic alliances between small Australian firms and large overseas firms, suggesting that costs arising from these difficulties are borne largely by the smaller firm. In 1989 BHP-Utah International and the Norwegian company ELKEM A/S, the world's largest manganese ferro-alloy producer, agreed to set up a joint venture from BHP-Utah's TEMCO smelter at Bell Bay and ELKEM's Beauharnois smelter in Canada. TEMCO and ELKEM have had technological links since TEMCO's construction in 1962 (Launceston Examiner 1989a). The new Southern Aluminium enterprise at Bell Bay, manufacturing auto wheels using molten aluminium direct from Comalco is a joint venture of Comalco and the Australian Industry Development Corporation with Japanese companies Enkei and Mitsubishi (Caples 1988c). This enterprise retrenched 30 workers in February 1992, and may lose more as the result of the recently announced closure of Nissan's Victorian car factory. At the level of local capital, United Milk Tasmania and Classic Foods set up a joint venture in the UHT project in a converted milk-powder factory at Edith Creek which is tetra-packaging long life beverages by contract (Crawford D 1990).

Summary of ownership changes

A great variety of size, sector, situation and outcome is covered by these considerable changes in ownership which have created new and different links with the national and international economy defining how Tasmania is inserted into global capitalism. As shown in Table 3.36, at an international level the Robbins Co (US), Selmer Sande (Norway), The Sandoz Group (Switzerland), Cominco (Canada) and Pechiney (France)

have closed their factories or sold their interests in Tasmania and Wilson Neill (NZ) has been taken over by a UK firm; in addition, Southern Aluminium has lost its Japanese partners. Nevertheless, one outcome has been an increase in external control and remoteness from local life. The changes have also often produced an increase in the size of organisations, usually followed by some rationalisation, often of original management; increases in employment have often been at lower levels of skill, thus creating a new skills mix and reinforcing the blue collar nature of Tasmanian employment. Many of the ownership changes have also resulted in expansion of production though not necessarily of employment, by investment in new plant, and attention is now turned to this aspect of change.

3.3.6 Capital investment and innovation

In the last five years there has been considerable capital investment in new plant and machinery, some making existing operations more competitive and some introducing innovations in products or services which may be totally new or simply new to Tasmania.

Table 3.37 Private fixed capital expenditure per capita by state: 1982-83 to 1986-87 ($ constant prices)

State	1982-83 $	1983-84 $	1984-85 $	1985-86 $	1986-87 $
New South Wales	974	891	1014	1124	1024
Victoria	862	874	998	1214	1134
Queensland	1347	*1065	1041	1127	889
South Australia	927	880	911	948	887
Western Australia	1592	1173	1351	1912	1912
Tasmania	529	592	675	818	909

Source: Felmingham and Rutherford 1989: 424 based on ABS No 5646.0 (various issues) Estimates of Private Fixed Capital Expenditure: States and Territories (*typographic error in original altered in accordance with information obtained from authors).

Table 3.38 Public and private investment in Tasmania 1985/6 -1989/90 - gross fixed capital expenditure in $m

Date	General govt capital account	Public trading enter-prises	Total public	Build-ings *	Plant, mach-inery and equipt	Total private invest-ment**	Total invest-ment	Public as % of total invest-ment
1985/6	210	229	439	149	452	601	1040	42
1986/7	214	203	417	178	473	651	1068	39
1987/8	218	185	403	173	576	749	1152	35
1988/9	266	178	444	215	852	1067	1511	29
1989/90	270	234	504	206	728	934	1438	35

Source: ABS No 5220.0 Australian National Accounts: State Accounts: 37 and 52
* and structures: non-dwelling **excluding dwellings

This investment has involved local, regional and global capital, and combinations of these. Specific investment in projects to upgrade operations in the light of changing environmental awareness and legislation has already been discussed in section 3.4.2.

Reliable and up to date investment data are notoriously difficult to obtain except at aggregate levels and often in the form of estimates. Hood (1988), however, found from a survey of manufacturers that over the period 1980 to 1985 private capital investment in manufacturing was estimated at $705 million, of which the 85 non-locally owned firms accounted for 81 per cent and the four largest manufacturers 47 per cent of the total.

Tasmania has a proportionately larger public sector than other states in Australia, partly because of employment in the HEC,, and partly to attempt to fill gaps left by the smaller private sector in the provision of goods and services (Felmingham and Rutherford 1989). In 1982/3 private fixed capital expenditure per capita in Tasmania was 52 per cent of that for Australia as a whole but more recent investment raised the ratio to 83 per cent by 1986/7 (Table 3.37). In the period 1985/6 to 1988/9, there appears to have been a fall in public investment as a percentage of all fixed capital investment excluding private dwellings, which is consonant with the continued winding down of investment in power schemes (Table 3.38). There is, however, continued concern expressed about shortage of private investment in physical capital.

Upgrading existing operations

Notable in the category of making existing enterprises more competitive are Blundstone Pty Ltd's new $1 million heavy-duty boot making machine in Hobart which has since achieved an unexpected success in exports to the London fashion market (Hobart Mercury 1988d); the $157 million development of Aberfoyle's Hellyer mine (Fyfe 1989) and the creation of 200 jobs to offset the closure of the nearby Que River mine (Pink 1990); Comalco's $68 mill furnace opened at Bell Bay in February 1990 (Maguire 1990); a modernisation of premises and plant at Betta Milk Cooperative in Burnie costing $1.5 million; $4 million of new plant including a freezing tunnel at Edgell-Birds Eye at Devonport and a potato store at Ulverstone (Burnie Advocate 1990c); APPM Burnie's $16 million new machine to concentrate production on Reflex photocopying paper; Boag's $350 000 canning line in Launceston; and Goliath Cement's new technology costing $85 million in order to double output at Railton.

The second category of innovations includes both large and small developments. Undoubtedly the development which has captured most public attention has been the relocation of International Catamarans from the Hobart wharf area to a new shipyard at Prince of Wales Bay in Glenorchy (Delaney 1987). The enlarged premises, which attracted a federal grant, allowed the fabrication of much bigger wave-piercing catamarans principally from aluminium, two of which have been sold for the English

Channel crossing and one for Bass Strait. Negotiations are now taking place for its ferries to be brought into Japan, by the trading house Marubeni Corp (Robins 1993b).

Another enterprise adding value to aluminium is the automotive wheel casting of Southern Aluminium at Bell Bay, planned in 1988 and reaching full production in 1990 (Caples 1988). Both of these developments have created employment, Southern Aluminium 150 and International Catamarans 320 (1992 figures) and by innovations in union and training matters may be helping to create a new industrial environment. More recently, however, Comalco has made a decision to direct future investment in Australia into upstream operations - mining, refining and smelting - because it does not believe that further downstream processing in Australia can be done competitively (Duncan 1992a). Discussing can sheet rolling in Australia, the Chief Executive of Comalco commented on the importance of scale: there are three rolling plants in Australia, none are making money, none is of a size to be competitive on the world market and any one of them is sufficient for the Australian market. The results at Southern Aluminium have been disappointing, although the company is not able to 'say that there is any single factor which has resulted in less than optimum performance' (Duncan 1992a: 34). Low standards of Australia's uncompetitive suppliers, industry structure problems and some technical issues over die-making and die repair are alleged to have contributed to poor performance from Southern Aluminium in the process of moving downstream and developing innovations. The development of further upstream opportunities, however, is dependent on governments providing sufficient and secure power contracts, and the company has negotiated water rights for hydro-electric power in Chile, giving the possibility of locating new smelters there. This total analysis has much more serious implications for Comalco's Bell Bay plant and for Southern Aluminium than the usual more limited discussion over the politics of power supply which re-emerged immediately after the 1992 change of government in Tasmania.

Other innovative developments include the bus factory, Ansair Kingston, opened in 1987 by the bus and coach building division of Ansett Transport Industries Ltd to make Mercedes and Saab Scania buses for the Metropolitan Transport Trust (Hobart Mercury 1988e). The TDA has set up a Technopark at Dowsings Point in Glenorchy (Tasmanian Development Authority n.d.), providing facilities for industries specialising in the research, development and manufacture of advanced technology products but few companies except the electronic companies, Moonraker and Critec Corp, have located there.

Product development

Apart from the above, most new product development and investment have been in fisheries, other foods and beverages, and furniture. Aquaculture has seen considerable development despite initial shortage of capital in the larger scale enterprises, which has been solved for the time being by merger and by Japanese investment (Davis 1990). Both

harvesting its fish and the market place, and giving additional capacity for contract large and small producers have been moving towards value added products, evidenced for example by Nortas' $200 000 new smokehouse at Barnes Bay. In 1991, Aquatas opened a new $1.1 million plant at Margate, intended to keep to the minimum the delay between processing (Chung 1991a). There has been continuing investment in vineyards and associated visitor centres such as Moorilla near Hobart, linking wine production with tourism and promotion of other Tasmanian products (Hobart Mercury 1990c). A significant move has been in cheese production; Lactos Pty Ltd (which was bought by the French company Bongrain SA in 1981) after 1984 turned from mass produced cheddar to lower-volume, higher-margin speciality types, investing $2 million in 1985 in imported equipment for making Camembert and Brie cheeses and spending $1.8 million in 1988 to double Lactos' production capacity, as well as more than a million dollars on product development and marketing (Shoebridge 1989). The company has recently announced the enlargement of the line making its successful True Blue cheese and is adapting some of its products for canned export to Japan (Robins 1993a). King Island Dairies, also with technological help from Europe, is now targeting the Asian market with longlife speciality cheeses (Hobart Mercury 1990b). On a small scale a Belgian migrant set up Anvers Confectionery at Railton, successfully manufacturing and marketing European style chocolates (Bower 1990). The UHT plant at Edith Creek was set up to package value added milk drinks, soy beverages and also pure water for export under the label of Roaring Forties. Clements and Marshall have built a new facility at Sassafras to process potato and onion products which are new to the Australian market, and depend on technology introduced from Europe (Burnie Advocate 1990a). Other innovations have been Commonwealth Industrial Gases' project for growing pyrethrum and the development of essential oils other than the traditional lavender.

Summary

There has been new capital investment in a list of significant projects: some of these have created new job opportunities; some have increased profitability and viability without creating employment; and some, discussed in sub-section 3.4.2, are the result of environmentalist criticism in order to maintain acceptability, access to resources and therefore continued profit and accumulation. There is continuing concern by development-alists over low levels of investment, particularly in the private sector. It is possible that in general the effects of an emerging global capital shortage, associated by some with the underestimation of the capital needs of Eastern Europe, are being felt (Gottliebsen 1990), but other views emphasise the effect on investment confidence of the uncertainty created by the environmental movement. A third view stresses the importance on world markets of the quest for pollution free food sources; German and United States' interests, for example, have bought into hop growing in the search for unpolluted environments in the

aftermath of Chernobyl, and there is continuing Japanese interest and investment in aquaculture enterprises in clean waters.

3.4.7 Conclusion

Tasmania is clearly still in the throes of transition from hydro-industrialisation but 'a new direction for economic development remains unclear' (Felmingham and Rutherford 1989: 413). The main trends can be identified in the role of the state, in environmental issues, in the turmoil of restructuring revealed in changes of ownership and control and changes in the balance of types of employment and skills through job shedding, job creation and reskilling, and the uncertainty of new or continued capital investment. These trends are each part of the others, but within them it is possible to point to two common problems. The first is that of achieving a sustainable economy within the accepted meaning of sustainable as living within one's income, both economically and environmentally. The second is in the human terms of achieving a consensus which can result in action rather than stalemate or in reversals of policy with political changes. The state government's role, referred to variously and often erroneously as holding the balance, mediating or negotiating, between such groups as fractions of capital, labour, the federal government and environmentalists, is crucial in maintaining conditions both for continued accumulation and for reproduction in the sense of 'the total set of practices and relations through which humans make and remake their existence' (Peet 1991: 179). The situation in New Zealand has recently been detailed in the following terms:

> ... a chasm continues to stand between accumulationist philosophies and the emerging ethics of the environmentalists (Le Heron *et al.* 1992: 15).

Similar responses to unemployment, development, wilderness, pollution and resource management are evident in Tasmania. Within the community as a whole changes are considerable and have increased within the last two years; individuals' and groups' positions, however, within Tasmanian regions as well as within different industrial sectors, occupations or employment status have already led and will continue to lead to very different experiences of change. The Tasmanian community is also part of the wider Australian community, and the pressures which are being exerted at one scale may have different formulations and intersections at a wider scale, the outcomes of which reflexively become part of the Tasmanian situation. In the next section, some of the outcomes at a national scale and their implications for Tasmania are discussed.

3.5 Outcomes at a national scale

In discussing anything to do with the nation state it is as well to bear in mind Jessop's (1990b) phrase quoted by Thrift (1992: 6) that the nation state is gradually being 'hollowed out'. Despite the increasing external constraints on effective national action, however, some initiatives remain squarely within the province of the national

government while other responses entail 'cooperative federalism', the working together of the states and federal government in initiatives which are often complex because of differing ministerial organisations among the participants. Macro-economic policies come into the first category, while policies relating to employment and training, industrial relations and resource security legislation come into the second and are discussed at this point to avoid fragmentation.

3.5.1 Macro-economic policies

The Commonwealth Government has had considerable effects on the Tasmanian economy and on employment through a variety of policies. In particular the monetary policy, which has maintained high interest rates, together with financial deregulation, have played a part in the move to speculation, takeovers and asset stripping which characterised the 1980s and thus to the series of corporate collapses in 1990, the results of which are still being worked out in the local economy through changes in ownership and their consequences. They also led to pressures on small businesses with less advantageous access to capital borrowing and to growth of debt at all levels. The effect of high interest rates on home loans added to pressures on married women to return to paid employment and possibly contributed to an unwillingness to a move outside the regional labour market if that entailed selling the family house.

Three particular occurrences show how decisions at national level can affect specific areas differentially. The sequence of events leading to airline deregulation in November 1990, including the airline pilots' disastrous misjudgment of the reaction of both employers and the Commonwealth Government to strike action in 1989, resulted in some re-evaluation of the stability of some types of tourist development in Tasmania and of the export of perishable products. The moves towards the reduction of protection have in particular been responsible for a decline in employment in textiles and clothing manufacture in Tasmania, although contingent factors such as bad management decisions must also be taken into account. The Commonwealth Government's policy, initiated in 1983, of Closer Economic Relations with New Zealand (CER), in 1990 reached the final phase of unrestricted trade in dairy products between the two countries (Lynch 1990); in the previous two years Australian cheese companies had been preparing marketing strategies to counter the possibility of cheap cheese being imported from New Zealand (Shoebridge 1989). These three examples underline the comment recently made about economic reform in Australia:

> While the reform agenda reflects clear economic and political imperatives, particular groups and places may become increasingly marginalised as a result of such economic reform and restructuring. ... Policy making has shown little awareness of the spatial components of the processes of economic change and has often neglected the geographically and socially uneven consequences of reform (Australian Geographer editorial 1991: 101).

The One Nation policy initiated by the Prime Minister, early in 1992 was a fresh attempt to 'kick-start the economy' and to redress some of the imbalances. It is too early to assess its impact but initial reaction that it held very little specifically for Tasmania has been upheld in the subsequent period.

3.5.2 Policies related to employment

Changes to unemployment benefit

In Australia the basis of income support for the unemployed changed on 1 July 1991. The 'dole' was replaced by two separate allowances (insert in Australian newspapers on 1 July 1991 by New Start, a Commonwealth Government Program jointly run by the Departments of Employment, Education and Training, and Social Security). People who have been out of work for less than 12 months (and all unemployed people under 18) receive the Job Search Allowance. People still unemployed after 12 months are eligible for the Newstart Allowance. To receive either of these new allowances, unemployed people have to show that they are actively looking for work or doing something to improve their chances of getting a job. Each jobseeker claiming the Newstart Allowance is interviewed by the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) and an agreement is drawn up to set out planned activities, including training or work experience, to help improve job prospects. It is emphasised that jobseekers will not be denied the allowance if there are no training places or other activities available, and that if there are no training facilities locally, then in some cases, the CES will pay for travel and accommodation for jobseekers to attend courses elsewhere. Nevertheless, the implications of these changes in Tasmania, where more than a quarter of the population live in settlements of under 2 000 people (Rich 1987), is likely to be considerable.

Job creation, skills development and training programs

There has been much national and international emphasis on the importance of developing skills in the workforce suitable for the changing conditions of global restructuring. Skill development has been linked to job creation programs, and changes are being proposed to national training standards and assessment. These in turn link with award restructuring discussed in the next section. There is, however, debate over who should be responsible for training, employers, government or the individual. The responsibility for training in Tasmania is divided between State Government, Federal Government and employers, with individuals often seeking to find ways of gaining additional qualifications which they perceive to improve their career prospects in a changing environment. In the last five years, both the unacceptably high level of unemployment and the need for flexible skills have led to considerable activity at all levels and within the related spheres of education, vocational training, credentialism, industrial relations and award restructuring and reskilling, as well as the job search and social security previously discussed. As the opportunity has been taken to address questions of social justice and equity in disadvantage relating to gender, aboriginality and illiteracy, this has proved a complex bureaucratic exercise.

State initiatives

The State Government launched its Employment Tasmania package in October 1988, with seven programs administered by DET and now by its successor DEIRT. These programs include both employer subsidy programs and training schemes aimed at groups with different aspirations. The five training schemes are:

Add an Apprentice: employers who increase the number of apprentices they employ can receive a training incentive of a total of $7 000 over three years for each additional apprentice, with an additional Commonwealth subsidy of $3 000.

Traineeships Tasmania: employers who increase their workforce by taking on a trainee under the Australian Traineeship System and retaining them for two years can receive a subsidy of $5 000, plus a Commonwealth grant of $1 000.

Young Managers: employers who create an additional management training position, with approved off-the-job training can receive either a total of $7 000 over three years, or up to $7 000 for approved, accelerated management training over a shorter period.

Training Express: employers in new or expanding areas who are prepared to set up an approved training centre and provide concentrated full-time skills training for new staff can receive a subsidy of $1 000 per trainee per month for up to three months.

Taswork II: a community-based work experience program offers two days' work each week to unemployed 16 to 21 year olds. Local community organisations sponsor projects and supervise work, local governnment is responsible for co-ordination and the State Government pays the wages.

The State Government sees itself as having a coordinating role in training through the Training Authority of Tasmania, principally in regard to trades and pre-vocational training. The responsibilities of the Australian Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) at State level include student assistance through Austudy. The Federal Government, however, legislated for companies with an annual payroll of over $200 000 to spend 1 per cent of that amount on their own training schemes, commencing in 1991. It is too early to evaluate the effects of this scheme on the labour market, but it may be important to ensure that training schemes do not just lock the State's labour market into existing patterns by on-the-job training. DEIRT's Human Resources Model is an attempt to ensure a future balance of skills by a computer model based on projections from the 1986 Census (Sullivan 1989). Unfortunately, because of computer limitations, this model treats the labour market as a single entity, and does not distinguish between genders.

There is also the problem that some training virtually creates a private labour market. Tsokhas (1986: 165) comments about the necessity of specific training at TEMCO when it installed its original IBM 1800 because of 'the unique nature of the interface hardware to a particular process'; the engineers thus trained may then have enjoyed security of tenure, or may have been tied to their job by non-transferable training. An interesting development has been the establishment of an internationally accredited training facility at

International Catamarans Tasmania Pty Ltd with the help of the TDA, to remedy the chronic shortage of skilled aluminium welders which threatened the company's expansion plans. Although within a private business, the facility will be available to train welders for other businesses (Tasmanian Business Reporter 1990).

Skills development programs at a national level

Initiatives by the Ministers for Vocational Education, Employment and Training (MOVEET), the Australian Education Council, the National Training Board and the Employment and Skills Formation Council have resulted in the publication of several reports whose implementation will have far-reaching effects.

The Slee Report (Australia, National Training Board 1991: 1-2) proposes 'a consistent national framework for developing competency standards by industrial parties based on industry needs' to further the Board's objectives of ratifying skill standards developed by industry for occupations and industry classifications linked to industrial awards.

The Finn Report (Australian Education Council 1991) accepts that the most successful forms of work organisation are those which encourage people to be multi-skilled, creative and adaptable and aims to set new national targets which recognise the convergence of schools, higher education, training and further education (TAFE) and other training.

The Carmichael Report, likely to be the most influential because of the chairperson's experience with the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) puts forward 'a staged strategy for meeting Australia's training needs in 2001. It is not a short-term response to current levels of unemployment, but an essential part of broad structural reform' (Australia, Employment and Skills Council 1992: vii). The report's recommendations include changing traditional apprenticeships to half-time work/half-time study, employment of Year 10 or 11 school leavers being conditional on the leaver and the employer entering into a training agreement, and trainee wages being based on a calculation as the proportion of the wage of a fully competent worker. These proposals have implications for employment in such situations as family farms in particular.

The Mayer Report, June 1992, identifies employment related key competencies for post-compulsory education and training (Australian Education Council and MOVEET 1992). All of these initiatives stem from and feed into the issues raised by the Industrial Commission as well as educational issues of methods of assessment of skills and competencies.

3.5.3 Award restructuring and workplace change

In August 1989 the Australian Industrial Commission made a ruling (the Structural Efficiency Principle) that wage rises and career paths should be linked to the breakdown of demarcation and restrictive practices, to get rid of artificial barriers and aim at 'natural work units' and improved productivity (Australia, Department of Industrial

Relations 1989: 3). The Commonwealth Department of Industrial Relations' Workplace Reform initiative covers award restructuring, skills audit, job reclassification and broadbanding, career paths, multi-skilling and job redesign. The implications of this attempt to help gain increased productivity, efficiency and profits on the one hand and more interesting jobs, better career paths and pay increases on the other by 'working smarter' are gradually being seen in Tasmania. There is, however, some evidence that this may prove to be too slow a process and that some managements may push for quicker routes to structural efficiency and assured accumulation, as the North Group did in April 1992 at Burnie.

3.6 Preliminary issues at a locality level

Tasmania in the last decade of the twentieth century can be seen as vulnerable on account of two related circumstances. On one hand, the nature of its economy involves a workforce largely dependent on resource based industries in the primary and secondary sector. On the other, isolation, topography, climate and unique vegetation have combined to bring about wilderness areas considered worthy of World Heritage status, and the attempted preservation of this wilderness has led to Tasmania's being in the forefront of conservation politics. This situation has great potential for social polarisation, and for economic stagnation while attempts are made to resolve the problem. The period of new theorisation of the 1980s in economic geography was a response to changes in the economic environment. There is little evidence that the resulting theorisation is adequate to cope with this major problem of pro-development capital, employing quasi-traditional labour and wanting access to natural resources, confronting conservationists looking for ecologically sustainable development. Meanwhile large numbers of ordinary people who are already making adjustments to changes in the quantity, quality, location and duration of work are involved in the dilemma.

It has been established in this chapter that Tasmania's economy is very dependent on resource based industries, controlled from outside the State. It has significant dependence on government employment in both the male and female labour market, but while the male labour market is static and predominantly 'blue collar', the female market is growing, but almost half of it is part-time, and in a narrow range of occupations. Regional variations compound these characteristics, especially for young job-seekers. Changes in ownership of firms, while sometimes responsible for retaining employment in the state or increasing it, tend to add to the size of the organisation, and by centralising management functions outside the State to reinforce the blue collar nature of employment. Restructuring has had differential effects: the introduction of new technology in mining, metal industries and food processing, and cutbacks in production in paper and pigment manufacture have both led to retrenchments, while in the clothing and engineering industries, factory closures have also led to job losses. Further redundancies are likely to

result from the rural crisis and may lead to an increase in pluriactivity and informal employment. The pruning of the public service will probably have different regional effects but may be most felt in areas with a small range of employment opportunities. Changes are also apparent in the nature of work, with award restructuring, related changes in job specifications and career paths, the introduction of competency-based assessment of qualifications, training and retraining programs, and flexible hours and conditions of work.

To some extent, this situation can be regarded as exemplifying the flexible employment model discussed in Chapter 2, with an increase in part-time, casual, temporary and seasonal work, in self-employment and contract work, and with the development of a core labour force with more security, a better chance of promotion, a range of skills and fewer union demarcations. That is to look at the situation from the viewpoint of employers and employing firms.

From the point of view of other participants in the labour force, and those not in the labour force, there are many unanswered questions. The role of individual choice in response to institutional changes is an aspect of labour markets which is obscured by data collection procedures and aggregation, and perhaps only ascertainable at a local level. The voluntary or involuntary nature of part-time work, early retirement, participation in the workforce for married women, and participation in informal activities is little understood and under-theorised. The role of social transfer payments in the labour market in relation to discouraged workers, long-term unemployed and single parents needs more investigation. The effects, both intended and unintended, of traineeships and community work projects and community access to them, and the question of the relation of voluntary work to the labour market need to be further addressed. The linkages between the male and female labour markets, the effects of local employment initiatives, the role of internal labour markets in large organisations, are all aspects of labour markets which impinge on individuals and families but are imperfectly understood. The social and economic implications of part-time work and early retirement as well as unemployment are likely to be of continuing importance; will leisure, whether willingly or unwillingly acquired, be used for further study and/or acquisition of skills, in self-provisioning activities, or in ways which help to create or maintain jobs for others? For geographers the challenge is to try to understand the interrelationship of these processes within and influenced by a spatial entity.

Fig. 3.8 illustrates the multiplicity of interrelationships associated with the restructuring of employment. In general terms, there is great pressure towards labour force recomposition exerted both by capital and the state; the literature indicates the probability of a fundamental recomposition of all social relations as a result. The question is whether this prognosis is true or how far it is likely to be true. It is possible tentatively

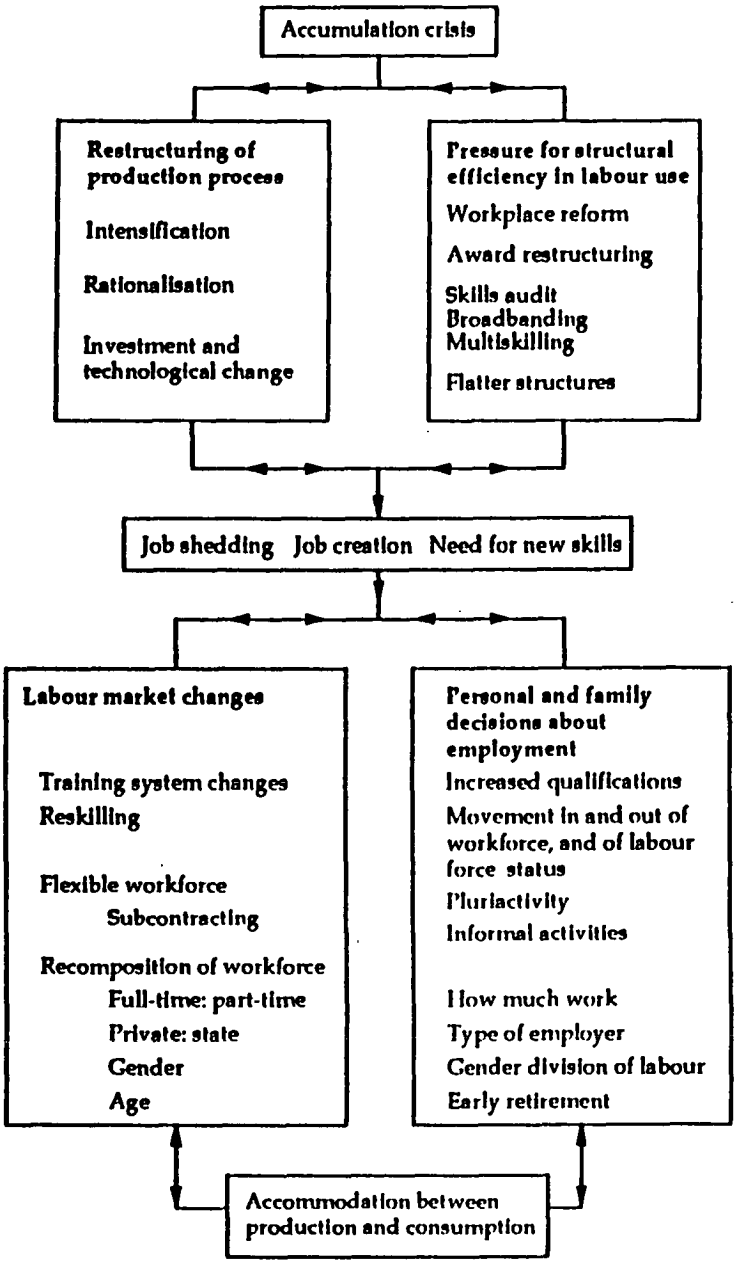


Fig. 3.8 Social relations of employment restructuring

to point to lowering levels of expectations, or perhaps necessary acceptance of lower quality of life. Life cycle adjustments are also evident in keeping with the often quoted view that the future holds the availability of fewer hours of paid work in a week, for fewer weeks in a year, for fewer years in a lifetime; it is, however, germane to ask '... which work in which economy for which member of the household and for how long' (Gershuny and Pahl 1979: 134). It is also possible to question the limits of local accumulation, as to how far individuals, families and businesses can continue to expand or

maintain accumulation, given the web of networks and individuals available. This is particularly pertinent in areas which have not been keeping up with capitalist development for decades and where major employers' viability in the changing economic environment is at risk. The loss of a major local source of employment in these circumstances raises fundamental questions about the conditions of existence of human activity in the area and the prospects for social reproduction. The future becomes problematic, and one view of the outcome is that

> ... some individual communities may be reduced to essentially secondary labour markets, marginalised from the supply of secure well-paid work (Martin 1986: 569).

The steps by which this might occur and the resulting social forms would be contingent on local conditions but not completely unstructured. A non-metropolitan area in Tasmania offers possibilities of the study of such a potential situation.

Spring Bay, which combines rural employment, a non-locally owned resource based major industrial employer, substantial contract work, a retirement area, tourist interests and high unemployment should therefore illuminate many of the foregoing questions. The next chapter details a methodology to investigate the labour market experience of individuals and their related household strategies.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Methodological issues

The intense debate in post-positivist human geography referred to in Ch. 1 also encompasses methodological arguments consequent on and inextricably linked with theoretical developments. Much has been written on the quantitative/qualitative dichotomy, and the earlier exploration by sociologists of non-quantitative methods, including a long history of ethnography (Agar 1985), has had its effect as part of the recent rapprochement of some human geography and sociology (Eyles 1988a, 1988b; Eyles and Smith 1988). Early writers showed a tendency to polarise quantitative and qualitative methods. They linked quantification with positivism, hypothetico-deduction, *a priori* assumptions, reductionism and taxonomic, normative, standardised, replicable, nomothetic approaches. Qualitative studies were seen as inductive, synthetic, holistic, relativistic, speculative and ideographic. Subsequent writers, however, argue that it is misleading to suggest a necessary rather than a contingent connection between quantitative data, definitive concepts and theory testing on the one hand and qualitative data, sensitising concepts and theory generation on the other. Such distinctions and dualistic thinking break down under scrutiny and the term 'interpretative research' has been suggested as preferable to 'qualitative data' (Bulmer 1979: 673; see also Halfpenny 1979; Miles and Huberman 1984; Kirk and Miller 1986; Smith DM 1988; Sayer 1991).

Sayer has drawn attention to the related question of intensive and extensive methods, summarising their respective characteristics, applicability and outcomes (Sayer 1992: 243; see also Sayer 1984; Sayer and Morgan 1985). This was usefully expanded in terms of industrial geography in Massey and Meegan's practical and deceptively simple checklist which emphasises the nature of the explanation and the type of generalisation sought. It advocates an examination of the consistency of proposed concepts and categories with the aims, of the degree of detail sought, of the linkage of levels of analysis, and of methods of dealing with conflicts of interest or information of different actors (Massey and Meegan 1985a: 170). Most of the participants in the book (Massey and Meegan 1985b) agree that, while both intensive and extensive methods are part of a realist approach, their linking into a coherent whole is a problem which will arise anew with every study. Other writers such as Knorr-Cetina (1981), Cicourel (1981), Harré (1981), Silverman (1985), Fielding and Fielding (1986) and Fielding (1988) further examine the problems of the micro-macro linkages, of moving from statements about the action of individuals to statements about the actions of collectivities, as well as problems of linking theory and empirical data and the essential back and forth movement between theory and data as analysis proceeds.

An indication of an approach to these problems was given in section 1.3 and the study area was introduced in general terms in section 1.4. Within this broad approach, two more specific issues remain, those of sampling and interviewing (see Silverman 1985; Blum and Foos 1986 for a review of the history of these techniques, and also Converse and Schuman 1974 on interviewing).

The conviction that it is interactions that matter, previously discussed in the context of a relational ontology, and that these interactions can only be tackled initially at a specific and micro level led to a choice of a discrete locality in which restructuring could be preliminarily identified in a variety of sectors. An examination of available data sets as the basis for sampling, detailed later in this chapter, has led to an acceptance that the theoretical choice of methods of sampling as laid out in textbooks is largely irrelevant in this situation, and that the major decision is between random and purposive sampling. Although purposive sampling offers a method of ensuring the coverage of as many categories as possible, it raises two problems. It implies the prior construction of theoretical categories, which may close off unpredicted lines of analysis (Bulmer 1979). Moreover, in an area in which certain activities are known to be absent or greatly under-represented, it gives no indication of relative importance of activities or occupations, although it allows for the exploration of causal mechanisms and generalisation through a realist approach. The construction of categories and the stage at which categorisation takes place is a matter for debate, particularly in sociological literature. Glaser and Strauss' (1963) grounded theory is sometimes used loosely and erroneously as a justification for purposive sampling. Other writers have advocated maintaining the openness of raw data to allow for interrogation and relation to theory in a

> ... switching back and forth between concrete categories closely adapted to the data themselves, and general categories able to tie in with other fields of experience (Bulmer 1979: 664).

This is, however, a method which is applicable to both quantitative and qualitative data from other forms of sampling, although the problem still remains of collecting data without similar closure. Random sampling can only be done when the population is known (Bloom and Foos 1986). If there is not a complete list, other strategies are used to obtain as unbiased a sample as possible; in particular systematic sampling is used where, instead of using random numbers, every nth name is selected from an existing population. This is the method selected in this thesis.

Interactive and partly unstructured interviewing has been chosen as preferable to formal questionnaires, whether administered by post, telephone or as a structured personal interview. The authoritarian view embodied in formal questionnaires of the public opinion poll type is rejected as being inappropriate in a situation where the views of a

wide range of respondents are being sought in detail, and where *ad hoc* supplementary questions and qualification of initial statements are to be encouraged. In addition

> [t]here is also a growing literature on methodology in social science which draws attention to the fact that interviews are *inevitably* interactive. Rather than attempt to minimize interaction (in the hope that observer-induced bias will be reduced) - which only leads to an awkward and often distorted form of (non?-) communication - it is better to *use* the interaction consciously to maximise information flow (Sayer and Morgan 1985: 156-7, emphasis in the original).

Thus a mixture of 'guided conversation' and some common questions to establish basic factual data is used, with sufficient guidance to cover the topics desired by the interviewer but sufficient flexibility and interaction to elicit maximum information without the constraints of standardised questions (Blum 1970). It is recognised that this less structured approach needs care over consistency and constant vigilance to be aware of bias and to take it into account, but it is more practicable in a micro-study in which all the interviewing is done by one person.

The possible dangers of the use of the household have been discussed in sub-section 2.4.3. The household is regarded here as potentially a chaotic conception. The ABS is clear in its concept of 'sharing a common pot', distinguishing in effect between boarders and lodgers, but this can lead to confusion in practical matters of identification at a lesser level than the census. Many writers use the term 'household/family' and other writers use 'household' and 'family' as interchangeable, or avoid definition. More serious is the possibility of implicit assumption that households, whatever they are in terms of groupings, are rational income-pooling units with no internal connotations of power (Wong 1984; Brannen and Wilson 1987). The focus in this thesis is first on individuals as the basic unit of research and then on ascertaining the relational ensembles in which they operate in household, wider family, workplace and other social organisations.

A final methodological point is the issue of time studies. Although there is a persuasive literature on the potential of time use surveys (Robinson *et al.* 1972; Robinson and Converse 1972; Vanek 1974; Walker and Woods 1976; Pred 1985; Gershuny 1985, 1988) it is rejected here on three grounds. The first is that it is seen to be of little value unless conducted through diaries, a method beyond the resources or powers of almost all but the ABS, especially since the adverse publicity generated in the privacy debate over one of its recent surveys. The second is the implication that the importance of an activity is necessarily to be judged by time spent on it. The third is that general questions of time use presuppose the question of <u>when</u>; this week, normally, in a typical week, all beg questions of contingency, of important realities such as school holidays and seasonal demands for labour, which would be better explored by specific questions in a different context. Time is to be regarded as a commodity; how it is to be used and the strategies, reasoning and trade-offs behind the decision making are the important issues, not mere measurement

(Wood and Bullock 1986; Whittingham and Andraskelas 1986; Baxter 1988; Hardesty and Bokemeier 1989).

A case study is 'a necessary and reasonable practice by which one can get a handle on difficult social processes, and the situation of particular people may provide a window into general social process', even if there is a danger of equating specification and explanation (Walker 1989: 145). The means by which as representative a sample as possible was interviewed are detailed next and in Appendix A.

4.2 The interview schedule

The interview schedule is shown in Appendix A.3, where it is printed consecutively for convenience. In practice, because of the wide range of respondents and to avoid the distraction and dismissive potential of continually turning over pages, sections 2 to 13 were printed separately. Each section was preceded by the filter questions in section 1 and followed by the household responsibilities and strategies questions in section 14.

4.2.1 Design of the interview schedule

The schedule was constructed on the assumption that one hour is all that can reasonably be asked of a respondent's time. In practice, many of the interviews extended longer, but this was the prerogative of the interviewee, and particularly, but by no means exclusively, applied to retired people of both genders.

The mixture of closed and open-ended questions is designed to elicit two types of information in two main areas. The first type of information is codable, mainly in the form of yes/no responses and answers to 'which of the following ...?' questions, some of which are geared to ABS definitions to allow comparison. In the schedule, questions with numbered alternatives require a specific answer, while those with prompts marked • are discretionary; this useful idea is adopted from Baxter *et al.* (1988). The second type of information is uncodable but provides specific data which are either factual or less tangible and concerned with the background to decision making. The codable data was put into a statistical package (Statview) on a Macintosh computer, and the uncodable data into a database (Filemaker II) with very flexible retrieval and manipulation capabilities.

The areas of enquiry are both economic and social. In so far as they can be separated, the economic questions cover spatial and non-spatial elements, and include labour force status, industry, occupation, job history and details, and income. The social questions cover family, household and housing situations. The last question (14.14) was intended as an insurance, and in fact several respondents gave information at this point which should have come out earlier. Its main value, however, proved to be the bringing out of a series of

values and attitudes behind household strategies, particularly in relation to life styles and the credit economy.

The personal and household income table (Card A in A.4) is constructed to enable comparisons to be made with other income levels rather than simply by numerical divisions. The levels relate to different circumstances of unemployment and other benefits, Austudy, and categories of average earnings in Tasmania. This proved to have the added advantage of capturing interest in the categories chosen, and of removing potential reluctance to discuss income. The format of the table, which is constructed on the principle of the ratio between information and ink advocated by Tufte (1983) and suggested by Dr LJ Wood, also fulfilled this function. No respondent refused to answer the questions on individual income. Several went to fetch pay slips or account books to check on the 'before tax' amount. Personal income was, however, easier than household: some spouses did not know their partner's income or were unwilling to discuss it. Other problems arose with self-employed people, and these more conceptual problems are discussed in Chapter 7.

Section 14.4 of the schedule is an attempt at operationalising two important areas of theoretical interest, the gender division of domestic labour and informal activities. It is influenced by Pahl (1984) and Warde (1990) with adaptations in relation to time constraints and a different country. Without doubt this generated the most interest in respondents, and there was much discussion in interviews where other family members were present over what was the best answer to represent the household situation. Discussion of the limitations is presented in Chs 6 and 9.

In some situations, a final question, which does not appear on the schedule, was resorted to. This was 'What have I not asked you that I should have?' It was used in the relatively few circumstances where the general field of employment was unfamiliar to the interviewer, and insured against there being a whole unknown area of interest that had not emerged earlier.

The sequence of questions, with the closed and open-ended questions mixed, is designed to deal with familiar and non-threatening matters first, and to leave potentially difficult questions such as income till the end, by which time any rapport developing would have been established.

4.2.2 Trialling

The schedule was trialled on each of the main categories, on persons not in the sample, most of whom were already known to the interviewer, and most of whom lived in the Spring Bay municipality. The interviewer was particularly fortunate to find, outside of the municipality but in a neighbouring rural area, a very articulate long-term unemployed person just about to become employed under the Job Start program, who proved very

helpful in advising on phraseology and the most acceptable ways of discussing sensitive questions. As a result of the trialling minor modifications were made both to questions and lay-out, and one major mismatch between a question and its accompanying card was eliminated. The main outcome of the trialling was an indication that the schedule elicited data of the type envisaged; an unexpected and encouraging outcome was positive feedback on how interesting the respondents found the schedule and the interview. Eighty per cent of the trial sample indicated that they would not be happy with a taped interview, but were not worried by note-taking, so the latter method of recording was adopted.

4.3 The sample and the practicalities of interviewing

4.3.1 The sample

The Electoral Roll for the Division of Lyons, dated 29 September 1989, provides the basis for sampling (Australian Electoral Commission 1989). Other lists available are the rates list, the Spring Bay Municipality electoral register and the telephone directory but these did not meet the criteria of universality and gender neutrality. The rates list consists only of property owners but includes owners of intermittently occupied residences; the local council electoral register is made up of all property owners whether permanent or intermittent residents, and other residents who apply to vote; and the telephone directory in many instances does not indicate spouse or adult children, and not all households have a phone connection.

The Lyons Electoral Roll includes all persons over the age of eighteen (since voting and therefore registration are compulsory in Australia) whose principal residence is in the municipality. It was decided to confine the study to adults on two grounds: that the youth labour market, although part of the segmented labour market, has separate characteristics and problems; and that no valid way could be seen to obtain or incorporate a list of 15 to 18 year olds living in the municipality with the electoral roll. The electoral roll does, however, have one slight disadvantage: it is possible under some circumstances to nominate a holiday home as principal residence. This was found to have occurred in two cases in the sample, and as the contingent situations were found to be relevant as household strategies, the cases were retained despite the fact that the principal employment was elsewhere. Details of the sampling procedure are given in Appendix A.1

4.3.2 Interviewing

In the majority of cases, interviews took place in the respondent's home or home and workplace combined. In six cases, however, interviewing was undertaken at workplaces, four respondents preferred to visit the interviewer and one interview was conducted by phone. In a situation in which cooperation is being asked for, it seemed better to agree to preferences than to attempt to gain a standardised location. There was, however, one

corollary of this: in the case of some of the workplace interviews, it seemed inappropriate, partly from considerations of time, to attempt section 14. In other cases, the presence of an invalid wife, for example, made section 14 inappropriate, although in different circumstances, elderly respondents cheerfully discussed how they had adjusted the allocation of household tasks to cope with disabilities. The decision therefore to include or exclude section 14 was largely intuitive on the part of the interviewer, backed by the conviction that a mistake would prejudice other interviews because of the nature of local grapevines. As a result, two separate but overlapping data sets were obtained.

It had originally been the intention to try to reduce travel time and petrol costs by grouping interviews by location, but this proved completely impracticable. A combination of such considerations as agricultural shows, Meals on Wheels and fishing boat schedules, holiday plans, shift and part-time work, when the baby would be asleep and Ladies' Day at the Orford Golf Club made for a much more *ad hoc* approach.

In some cases, the interviews were conducted in private and others in the presence of other family members, both adults and children, or in one case of an elderly and not well-educated lady, in the presence of a young neighbour who had been invited as a 'minder'. As with the location of interviews, the important thing was that the respondent was comfortable and relaxed, with or without support.

Triabunna has a reputation as one of the roughest towns in Tasmania, and the knowledgeable local person who checked the original sample for deceased persons also checked (unasked) for certain characters known to him through his retail business that he would have 'been unhappy' about; only one was present in the sample but had recently left the area so that the interviewer was spared an ethical problem.

4.3.3 Success rate

When interviewing began in April 1991, there was a minor picket at the woodchip mill operated by APPM, which had little effect on the local community. In May, however, there was an escalation of industrial action, the road to the mill was blocked by log trucks, the mill was closed for two weeks and the local community was divided into several camps. Details and implications of this are discussed in Ch.5, but its effects on the interviewing are relevant here. Some people were even more willing to talk about their jobs, and had the leisure to do it, but several people who were approached refused outright because of the industrial situation, or suggested getting back to them when the dispute was settled. Several people made appointments but no-one was at home when the interviewer called. All of these were known to have links with the logging situation in general, and most of the 'no-shows' were in a particular area of Triabunna, suggesting that spouse and neighbour pressure were at work, an assumption borne out by general comments by others. As the dispute continued feelings ran high, so any further approaches to people

Table 4.1 Reasons for for potential interviewees refusing or being abandoned

Reasons		Males	Females	Persons
Refused:	'not interested'	1	4	5
	answered a previous survey	-	2	2
	'too old'	2	3	5
	'no show' - related to log dispute	7	4	11
	other	2	2	4
Died		3	5	8
Ill or in hospital		3	4	7
Too deaf		2	-	2
Family death		2	2	2
Family illness		-	2	2
Moved away: reason known		7	6	13
reason unknown		7	2	9
Currently on mainland		1	2	3
Proved to be out of municipality		2	3	5
Duplicate address		2	3	5
Total		39	44	83

with logging or mill connections were postponed, and interviewing concentrated on other areas. After the withdrawal of the picket, some contacts were successfully resumed, but as the underlying dispute was not settled, some were not, and in particular, only one logging contractor and no family partner of a logging contractor is represented in the final sample.

The spread of a flu virus also complicated interviewing. Two of the original sample died as a result of it during the interviewing period, as did two spouses, and of the group who were too ill (see Table 4.1) two died in the fortnight after interviewing ended. The group who were too old were self-designated, while the too deaf were so designated by spouses on the phone.

As interviewing proceeded, it became apparent that the current electoral roll contains foreign elements in the sampling frame, and much time was spent tracking down people who were, in the local phrase, 'long gone' from the area. The local librarian proved helpful in this process, but it was a matter for regret that it was not always possible to find out the reason for someone having moved away. The reasons for not being able to interview are summarised in Table 4.1; together with Appendix A.1 it illustrates the difficulties of doing fieldwork in a rural location with scattered settlements and suggests a possible contributory reason for the research concentration on urban labour markets noted in Ch. 2. If the 'refused' category is separated from the reasons about which there was no choice, a response rate of 78.74 per cent can be calculated.

4.4 Evaluation of the methodology

There are three issues in evaluating the methodology: the view of the respondents; the representativeness of the sample; and the reliability of the resulting data. The first two are discussed here and the third as issues arise in subsequent chapters.

4.4.1 The view of the respondents

The views of the respondents were not specifically sought, but emerged either during the interview or afterwards, along with the often obligatory cup of tea, in the context of questions such as 'Do you get paid to do this?' and questions about what use the survey would be, and whether it had any connection with any government departments. General amusement over 'every thirteenth' covered a feeling that many respondents preferred the thought that they had been selected by chance rather than that they had been selected for some particular reason. General approval was expressed of the personalised letter, and the follow-up phone-call; as someone who had agreed to be interviewed put it, 'You can say no more easily over the phone'. This undoubtedly was related to the strong representation of a door-knocking religious group in the area. One respondent commented, as the result of the 'What have I not asked you that I should have?' question, that everything had been covered 'in a nice balance between getting the information you need but not prying into too personal details'. The same thought was expressed obliquely by the people who said in surprise 'Is that all you want to know?'. The most revealing comment on guided conversation was at the end of a most fruitful interview, a rueful '... and I have told you a great deal more than I intended to'. Several respondents, although acknowledging the necessity for the confidentiality assurance in the introductory letter, said that in their case they could be quoted by name if desired. It was necessary to explain to others how data would be handled so that they would not be identifiable.

4.4.2 The representativeness of the sample

It is necessary to evaluate the representativeness of the sample because of some of the difficulties outlined above. Some doubts are raised by subsequent replacements. In the early stages of looking at the sample, a particular group was noticeable in the people who were known from general knowledge to have left the area since the date of the most recent Electoral Roll. It was tempting therefore to consider replacing them by their replacements: the store-owner by the man who bought the business, the National Parks Ranger and the Anglican Rector by their replacements, and the wife of the last policeman but one by the wife of the present incumbent. Even within this group, it would be difficult to establish which teacher replaced which, in the context of reorganisation, and outside of this group, especially among mobile workers or the retired, specific replacement was impossible. Indeed it proved impossible to find out the employment of some of the 'long gone' group.

Table 4.2 Age group and gender of the Spring Bay 1991 sample

Age group	Persons no & %	Males number	Males %	Females number	Females %
18 - 25	7	2	3.9	5	10.2
26 - 35	29	21	41.2	8	16.3
36 - 45	21	8	15.7	13	26.5
46 - 55	19	8	15.7	11	22.4
56 - 65	9	5	9.8	4	8.2
Over 65	15	7	13.7	8	16.3
Total	100	51	100.0	49	100.0

Table 4.3 Age group and gender, Spring Bay Municipality 1986

Age group	Persons		Males		Females	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
18 - 25	214	15.7	109	15.3	105	16.1
26 - 35	291	21.3	153	21.5	138	21.1
36 - 45	295	21.6	157	22.0	138	21.1
46 - 55	177	13.0	93	13.0	84	12.9
56 - 65	193	14.1	100	14.0	93	14.2
Over 65	196	14.3	101	14.2	95	14.5
,Total	1366	100.0	713	100.0	653	100.0

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics Census of Population and Housing 1986

Table 4.4 Chi-squared calculation for gender/age groups of the 1991 sample

Gender/ Age	1986 Census population numbers 18 and over	Census population % E	Sample 0	Contribution to χ^2 $(0-E)^2/E$
M 18-25	109	7.98	2	4.48
26-35	153	11.20	21	8.57
36-45	157	11.49	8	1.06
46-55	93	6.81	8	0.21
56-65	100	7.32	5	0.74
over 65	101	7.39	7	0.02
F 18-25	105	7.69	5	0.94
26-35	138	10.10	8	0.44
36-45	138	10.10	13	0.83
46-55	84	6.15	11	3.82
56-65	93	6.81	4	1.16
over 65	95	6.95	8	0.16
Total	1366	99.99	100	22.43

The use of a replacement sample is theoretically more acceptable the nearer the replacement group grows towards the size of the original, since the replacement sample should have the same characteristics as the original group. It became apparent, however, that in some sub-sets, no-one had died, moved away or refused but the sub-set was added to by replacements. This was true of farmers in particular: none had died, the group is more stable than others because of its attachment to the land, and, as one respondent put it, 'Farmers are used to answering questionnaires - if it's not the Bureau of Stats, it's mainland fertiliser firms'. It had been thought that retired people and housewives at home might be over-represented but that did not appear to be so. A further observation was that the group who refused on the grounds of lack of interest were self-employed or spouses of self-employed; the self-employed, however, seem to have been replaced. The effect of the industrial dispute was selective, and not necessarily rectified by replacements. These caveats must be borne in mind in any attempts at generalisation, but the sample is as representative as was possible under the contingent circumstances.

Of the 100 people interviewed, 51 are male and 49 are female; this compares with 51.3 per cent males and 48.7 per cent females in Spring Bay in the 1986 ABS census. Comparable figures for Tasmania are 49.6 per cent males and 50.4 per cent females, and for Australia 49.8 per cent males and 50.2 per cent females. The slight male majority in Spring Bay is typical of areas in which resource based industries are important. Table 4.2 shows the breakdown by age group for the 1991 Spring Bay sample, and Table 4.3 shows a similar breakdown for the 1986 ABS census data. The age groups were altered from the usual (i.e. 26-35 instead of 25-34) to allow for some state regulations about retirement in the year in which the employed person turns 65.

The value of chi-squared calculated in Table 4.4 is 22.43 compared with the value of 19.68 necessary for significance for 11 degrees of freedom at the five per cent level. Thus the sample differs significantly from the census data in the following respects. With reference to the group M 18-25, the contribution to χ^2 is >3.00 and since 2<7.98, the sample has too few males of this age group. With the group M 26-35, the contribution to χ^2 is >3.00 and since 21>11.2, males of this age group are over-represented in the sample. With the group F 46-55, the contribution to χ^2 is >3.00 and since 11>6.81, this group is also over-represented in the sample.

No person in the M 18-25 group refused to be interviewed but several had moved out of the area to seek employment, so that the under-representation of this group may reveal a change in the period since the 1986 census. There is no immediately apparent reason for the other anomalies but it must be remembered that there may be a flow-on from, for example, the over-representation of the M 26-35 group into over-representation of certain occupations.

Of the males, 38 (75 per cent) are married or in a *de facto* relationship, three (6 per cent) are separated or divorced and 10 (20 per cent) are single (i.e. never married); Of the females, 42 (86 per cent) are married or in a *de facto* relationship, one is separated or divorced, two are widows and four are single (i.e. never married). There is a dearth of single females (eight per cent in the 1991 sample) but this is not under-representation as the Spring Bay 1986 ABS figure is also eight per cent compared with 14 per cent in Tasmania as a whole in 1986; as females who are separated, divorced or widowed are under-represented in the sample, the percentage of married females is high (86 per cent in the sample compared with 77 per cent in the 1986 Spring Bay data and 66 per cent for Tasmania in 1986). The total persons married (80 per cent) and single (14 per cent) in the sample compares with 75 per cent married and 12 per cent single in comparable age groups in Spring Bay in the 1986 census. Of the sample, 51 live in Triabunna, 31 in Orford, 12 in Buckland, two in Levendale, two in Little Swanport and one in Weilangta (see Fig. 1.1).

Fig. 4.1 shows the labour force status of the 1991 sample of 100 individuals who were interviewed. A comparison with Fig. 4.2 suggests that the labour force is over-represented in general in the sample; this is understandable in the sense that the interviewer had some difficulty in convincing potential interviewees that those who were retired or working at home were equally of interest with those in the workforce. Employers also appear to be over-represented, and this to some extent reflects the over-representation of farmers discussed earlier.

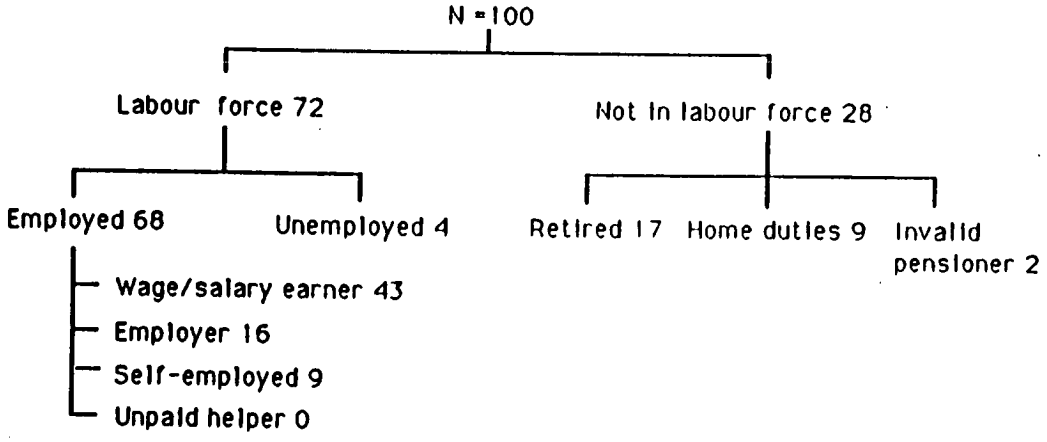


Fig. 4.1 Labour force status of the Spring Bay 1991 sample

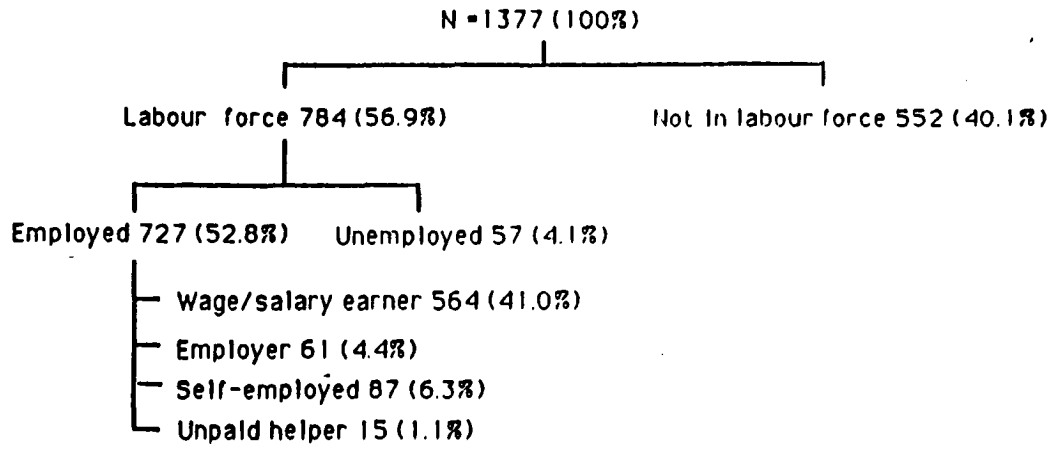


Fig. 4.2 Labour force status, Spring Bay Municipality, 1986
Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics Census of Population and Housing 1986

This categorisation follows the ABS in considering only an individual's first job; consideration of second jobs is reserved for discussion under households, because of the nature of dual job-holding relative to family businesses in the area.

The sample therefore shows the basic features of a population in which males are in the majority, and in which there are considerable numbers of elderly people, with almost 30 per cent of adults over the age of 55, and fewer single females than the state average. There are some anomalies in the sample, but as was argued earlier, it was the most representative that could be achieved. The method of writing up this field work is now examined, in the context of writing in general.

4.5 Questions of narrative and discourse

In the course of exploring the insights of postmodernism, geographers have turned their attention to questions of narrative and discourse derived from the work of Foucault (1967, 1978), Derrida (1981a, 1981b), Lyotard (1984), Jameson (1984) and Eagleton (1986). Writers such as Gregory (1986a), Golledge *et al.* (1988), Harvey (1989), Soja (1989), Barnes (1989b, 1991, 1992), Barnes and Curry (1992), Barnes and Duncan (1992a) and Pile and Rose (1992) have explored conventions and metaphors, and some have even experimented with the more 'playful' aspects in their texts to demonstrate their distancing from single stream, sequential modes of thought and expression. The discussion follows from other aspects of postmodernism and suffers from the same problem as postmodernism in general that, if carried to its logical conclusion, there would be little point in writing.

The emphasis on how something is written as an integral part of the subject of the writing is not new; McLuhan (1966: 15) summed it up in the aphorism 'the medium is the message'. It is, however, also a part of the reaction against modernism in the guise of so-called scientific writing; such geographers as Gould and Thrift have set examples to demonstrate that academic writing need not be dull or almost unreadable. In common with

postmodernism *per se*, the role of the discussion of narrative may be that of sensitising the writing community to 'other voices'.

Style in writing is essentially a personal thing. The author belongs to the generation that was taught about metaphor, irony, synecdoche and metonymy at school, and so reflects on the metaphor of clogs to clogs in three generations - not, however, without appreciating the power and subtlety of 'big' metaphor, 'the creative spark' and 'the jolt, the *frisson* that makes us see the world in a different way' in Barnes and Duncan (1992a: 11). It is nevertheless important to recognise the need for variety in narrative in dealing with different subjects, and to take into account prior uses of terms in other discourses. For these reasons, as may already be apparent to a stylistically sensitive reader, three forms of narrative are used in this thesis, where presentation of data, discussion or 'telling the story' (or even collage) predominate, and there is considerable use of definition of terms to make clear from what interpretative community they derive.

In this chapter the theoretical considerations and pragmatic implementation of the thesis' methodology have been delineated. In Ch. 5, the data resulting from the survey in relation to individual labour market experience are presented and analysed.

CHAPTER 5 LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCE IN SPRING BAY

In this chapter, detailed information from the interview survey in Spring Bay is presented about the choices people make in everyday life over paid employment, together with the ways in which the nature of work is changing and conditions of work being restructured. This is within the context of the two basic questions of how, at the end of the twentieth century, individuals and households are experiencing, handling and surviving the new circumstances and how far, in what circumstances and by what means people are integrated into the global economy.

The focus here is on production within the capitalist system, the nature of the process of surplus value extraction, and the different ways in which labour can be linked into systems siphoning profits into capital accumulation. There are areas which are resistant to change in the capital/labour relationship, through petit bourgeois enterprises, the use of family labour or attempted opting out of the capitalist world. There are three interlinked areas where change is apparent: new working arrangements, such as job sharing, broad-banding of occupations and multi-skilling; the nexus of unemployment, some forms of self-employment and underemployment; and changes in working hours and conditions, in shift work, casual work and part-time employment. In such situations the possible variation between sectors and especially between large, multinational employers, the state in its capacity as an employer and small local employers gives the potential for great diversity of actual situations and social relations in which individuals work. Investigation of the actual labour market experience of individuals provides a window on these varying situations and conduits of change, and their implications with regard to the whole spectrum of job search, stability of employment, skills and training, prospects of promotion, level of remuneration and unionisation. The nature of holistic real life experience of job status and the labour market thus sets the stage for discussion of greater or less opportunities for accumulation from the labour of Spring Bay residents later in Ch. 8.

An examination of actual real life experience of the labour market provides a window on a further matter of interest. Doeringer's (1984) analysis of rural internal labour markets in Maine found important differences between the strategies of large multi-national employers and smaller local employers. While the implications of his work are significant for the future of rural employment growth, the reasons for the dual system are not entirely clear. The work of Warf (1988b) offers a possible explanation within a realist approach to regional change that integrates uneven development with everyday life and social reproduction. He begins with a conception of labour as

> ... both the medium and the outcome of everyday life, as the process which allows human beings to exist and, simultaneously, as the product of that existence (Warf 1988b: 51).

The model of the 'deep structure' of commodity production shown in Fig. 5.1 starts with the workplace (the sphere of production) where a firm combines the inputs of labour and capital to produce commodities which are then sold in the market (the sphere of exchange). After the recovery of capital costs, the allocation of the resulting surplus to wages and profits is seen as a question of the relative powers of capital and labour in a structural 'collision'. Warf thus situates changing labour process and organisation and new technologies within the context of the wages-profit struggle, and also the way in which workers perceive impacts on their jobs and livelihoods. This wages-profit collision is at the heart of both the detailed workplace restructuring currently taking place and of the

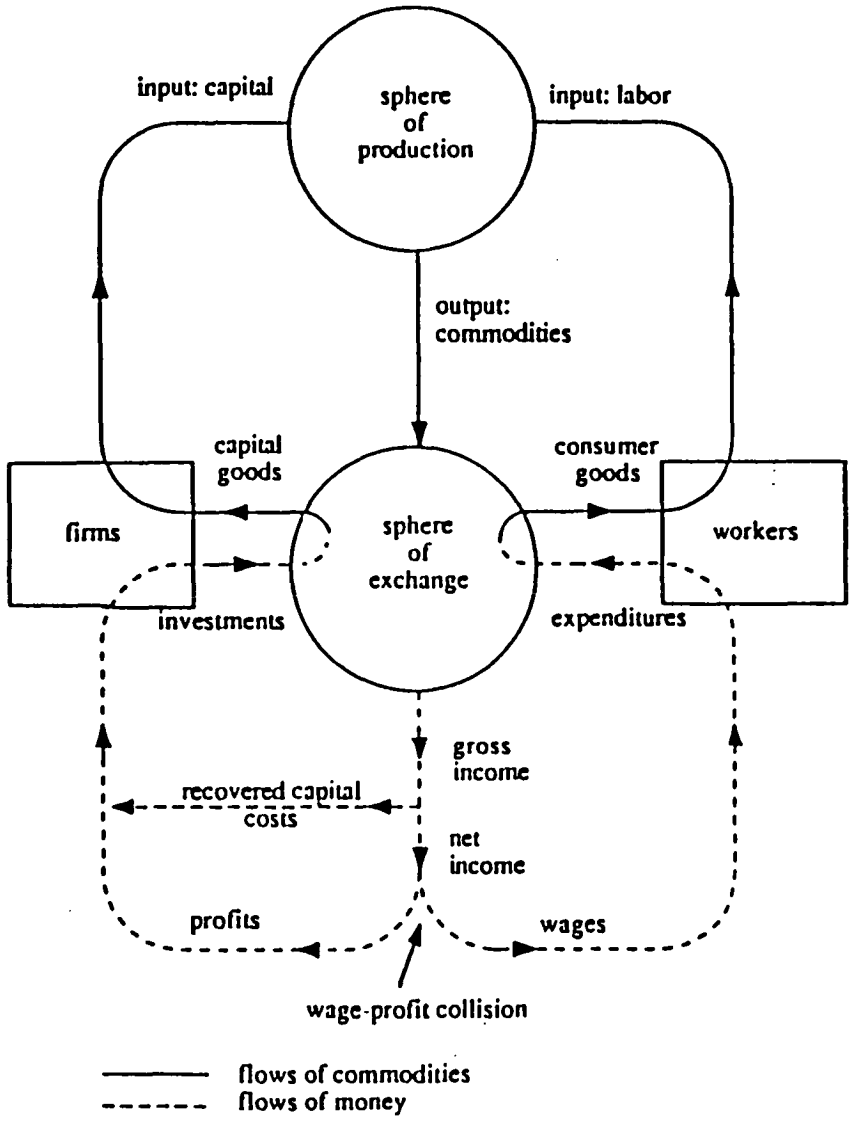


Fig. 5.1 Model of the 'deep structure' of commodity production
Source: Warf (1988: 53) based on Roweis and Scott (1981: 138-139)

difference in industrial relations and other labour market practices between different employers. The labour market experience of individuals illustrates this conjunction. Everyday life can not be divorced from the production process as for most people work is the main influence on incomes, socioeconomic status and further opportunities.

> Social life can only be understood as a dialectic of power and structure, a web of possibilities for agents, whose nature is both active and structured, to make certain choices and pursue strategies within given limits, which in consequence expand and contract over time (Lukes 1977: 127 in Warf 1988: 57).

The current period of turbulence is one in which limits are expanding for some people and contracting for others, and individuals' experience is not to be understood as reaction to and passive acceptance of changing circumstances. Warf follows O'Connor (1981, 1984) in asserting that crises represent not simply obstacles to production but opportunities to restructure production more profitably. This restructuring also represents opportunities for labour by various means to share in the increased profitability. Whether this occurs and by what means will vary in time and space, and the current crisis provides an opportunity to examine some of the contingent outcomes.

Discussion in this chapter is structured as follows: labour market experience and restructuring are approached under the two broad divisions of the labour force and those not in the labour force. Within the labour force, those employed by the dominant employer are considered first; the self-employed and small employers, together with their employees, are considered second; and those in state employment, at any of the three levels of Commonwealth, Tasmania or local government, and those unemployed are discussed last. In each section there is movement back and forth between local restructuring and individual experience as seems appropriate. Those not in the labour force are considered next under the headings of home duties, retired and other pensioners. Finally, informal activities in relation to labour market activities are discussed, although the majority of this topic is reserved for Ch. 6 under household strategies.

In the first instance, the ABS definitions of the labour force are used. This enables an examination of the Spring Bay 1991 sample to be made in relation to other data at various scales to put the sample into perspective. Some of the other data do not distinguish between age groups in the labour force, while in some it is possible to delete the 15 to 19 age group. In theory the Spring Bay sample is of those over 18 years on the electoral roll, but despite the fact that 17 year olds can enroll in preparation for the next election, the date of the most recent roll negated that, and in effect the sample is of those over 19 years. In practice the youngest interviewee is 20.

Reporting empirical work with this degree of detail presents some problems both of narrative and generalisation. Beyond the postmodern view that 'every time you try to summarise something, you always end up by saying something else' (Wark 1991: 19) there

is the question of range of experience. The people of Spring Bay have very varied individual experiences of the labour market according to age, gender, education, labour force status and skills, which affect their job opportunities, earnings and career paths. To aggregate these unduly at the start would run the risk of hiding significant differences, both of individual experience and within sectors of industry and occupation. In the following sections therefore an attempt is made to see both the trees and the wood; the question of where these fit into the total landscape is the province of generalisation and abstraction which follow later. The balance between academic language and the vernacular also presents a problem; there are occasions in which the respondent's own vivid phrasing can not adequately be replaced. Several respondents said that they did not care about anonymity and could be quoted; this might appear to give their views a different status from the rest of the survey, so anyone named is not a member of the sample.

5.1 The labour force

The status of the 72 members of the labour force in the 1991 sample is shown in Table 5.1. This table shows only the primary job of those interviewed, following the ABS convention. Full-time and part-time status is usually only shown for wage and salary earners here, as the employer and self-employed situation is complicated by variants of 'sleeping partners' which are discussed under household strategies in Ch. 6. Wage and salary earners are proportionately fewer in the sample than in Tasmania (60 per cent compared with 76 per cent), and the proportion of employers is considerably higher (22 per cent compared with 6 per cent), with self-employed also higher (13 per cent compared with eight per cent). If the sample is accepted as it is, however, the difference between the genders in labour market experience is immediately apparent. Full-time work predominates for male wage and salary earners, while more than half of the female labour force sample is employed part-time.

Table 5.2 uses the same industry groupings as in Ch. 3, and shows the importance of agriculture, fishing and forestry, and of physical services, which in Spring Bay are

Table 5.1 Labour force status of the Spring Bay 1991 sample

Labour force status	Persons		Males		Females	
	numbers	%	numbers	%	numbers	%
Wage/salary earner	43	59.7	25	55.6	18	66.7
Full-time	28	38.9	25	55.6	3	11.1
Part-time	15	20.8	0	0.0	15	55.6
Employer	16	22.2	12	26.7	4	14.8
Self-employed	9	12.5	5	11.1	4	14.8
Unemployed	4	5.6	3	6.7	1	3.7
Total	72	100.0	45	100.0	27	100.0

Table 5.2 Comparison of data sets of percentage employed by industry groups

Major industry group	1991 Spring Bay sample %	1986 Spring Bay Municipality* %	1986 Tasmania* %
Agriculture, fishing and forestry	20.6	20.8	7.5
Mining	0.0	0.3	1.9
Manufacturing	17.6	24.9	14.2
Physical Services	39.7	32.8	32.0
Information Services	22.1	17.8	41.0
Not stated etc		3.5	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	68	763	174 055

*Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics Census of Population and Housing 1986

Table 5.3 Comparison of data sets of percentage employed by occupation groups

Occupation group	1991 Spring Bay sample %	1986 Spring Bay Municipality* %	1986 Tasmania* %
Manager/administrator	17.6	13.1	11.2
Professional	8.8	7.2	11.1
Paraprofessional	8.8	3.0	7.0
Tradesperson	13.2	13.9	15.5
Clerical	7.4	9.6	15.1
Salesperson/personal service	13.2	8.1	12.8
Plant or machine operator	14.7	19.1	9.6
Labourer	16.2	22.4	15.5
Not stated etc		3.5	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N =	68	763	174 055

* Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics Census of Population and Housing 1986

Table 5.4 Employment in industry by occupation in percentages of the Spring Bay 1991 sample

Occupation group	Agricult -ure fishing and forestry %	Mining %	Manu-facturing %	Physical services %	Inform-ation services %	Total %
Manager/administrator	8.8	0.0	2.9	2.9	2.9	**17.6**
Professional	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**8.8**	8.8
Paraprofessional	2.9	0.0	2.9	0.0	2.9	8.8
Tradesperson	1.5	0.0	1.5	**10.3**	0.0	**13.2**
Clerical	1.5	0.0	1.5	1.5	2.9	7.4
Salesperson/personal service	0.0	0.0	0.0	**10.3**	2.9	**13.2**
Plant or machine operator	1.5	0.0	4.4	7.4	1.5	**14.7**
Labourer	4.4	0.0	4.4	7.4	0.0	**16.2**
Total (N = 68)	20.6	0.0	17.6	39.7	22.1	100.0

Table 5.5 Employment in industry by occupation in percentages, Spring Bay Municipality 1986

Occupation group	Agric-ulture fish-ing and forestry	Mining	Manu-factur-ing	Phys-ical serv-ices	Inform ation serv-ices	nceu & ns*	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Manager/administrator	6.2	0.3	1.2	3.9	1.3	0.3	13.1
Professional	0.3	0.0	0.9	0.3	5.8	0.0	7.2
Paraprofessional	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.5	1.3	0.0	3.0
Tradesperson	0.9	0.0	4.6	7.2	0.4	0.8	13.9
Clerical	2.0	0.0	1.7	2.4	3.5	0.0	9.6
Salesperson/personal service	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	1.4	0.0	8.1
Plant or machine operator	3.7	0.0	8.5	5.8	0.9	0.2	19.1
Labourer	6.4	0.0	6.3	5.5	2.9	1.3	22.4
Inadequately described & nei	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.6	2.0
Not stated	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.3	1.5
Total	20.8	0.3	24.9	32.8	17.8	3.5	100.0

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics Census of Population and Housing 1986
* non-classifiable economic unit and not stated

sample, which is inflated by the number of farm managers to give a higher proportion than for Tasmania; if farm managers are separated out, the remaining manager/administrator group is 11.8 per cent. Concern over anomalies in conceptualisation which result in this situation are discussed in Ch. 7.

Tables 5.4 and 5.5 show those employed in the five industry groups by occupations; although percentages vary between the two tables, partly because of the small numbers involved, the pattern which emerges is similar. There is a lack of managerial positions except in the rural industries; the proportion of clerical employment is low; and much of the employment is concentrated in the lower part of the occupation table, indicating fewer and more general skills. This is in keeping with the fact that 71 per cent of those interviewed ended formal education aged 16 years or younger, with the comparable figures for males being 67 per cent and for females 76 per cent. Three of the occupation groups, professional, tradesperson and salesperson, are closely linked by definition with the aggregated industry groups shown here, and much of the interest lies in specific industries, gender divisions, and full-time and part-time status. Discussion now turns to labour market experience in relation to the dominant employer, APPM Triabunna.

5.1.1 The dominant employer

The current structure of APPM Triabunna

APPM Triabunna had its origin in 1965 when a group of saw millers in southern Tasmania discussed setting up a company to establish an export woodchip mill utilising logging waste and sawmill residue (Lawrence 1986). Tasmanian Pulp and Forest Holdings (TPFH) was set up the next year, and became a public company in 1969. Construction of the mill, roads and wharf facilities started in 1970 and the first shipment of woodchips to Japan was made in 1971. In 1979 APPM acquired TPFH, but retained the name for some uses, and in turn was taken over in 1982 by NBH. In 1988 NBH merged with Peko Wallsend to form North Broken Hill Peko (NBHP). The implications of this concentration of capital over 20 years are that decision-making, especially with regard to restructuring, has moved out of the local area with the gradual integration of APPM into the management organisation of NBHP. In addition, Peko-Wallsend's reputation for hard-line industrial relations may become a factor in the current long running dispute; this reputation dates from the Robe River mine dispute in West Australia, when the company was successful in forcing changes in work practices and reductions in pay. Several of those interviewed, in different situations in the workforce, used the phrase 'a Robe River solution' in discussing possible outcomes to the situation at APPM Triabunna.

The internal structure of the Triabunna mill operation is shown in Fig. 5.2. It shows a Taylorist hierarchy of supervision, with a clear horizontal division into management and labour (referred to by interviewees simply as staff and award). This horizontal stratification implies a segmented labour market. The three groups, award, staff and senior staff, have different qualifications, entry ports, career paths and promotion ceilings; the award group is recruited locally while much of the senior staff comes from movements within the wider corporate organisation; remuneration is negotiated in different ways, reflecting the non-unionisation of staff (with the exception of the female clerks), who thus have different obligations in industrial disputes. Some aspects of the entire operation are not represented in this diagram; for example, marketing is done at division level.

The vertical divisions into administration, production, maintenance etc are repeated in union representation and contingently reflect the union situation when the plant was set up, in that such a division allowed for easier negotiation. The Australian Timber and Allied Industries Union (ATAIU), a recent amalgamation, represents the mill operators, the Metal and Engineering Workers Union (MEWU) and the Electrical Trades Union (ETU) the maintenance men, the Federated Clerks Union the female clerks, the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association (FEDFA) the drivers in the yard, and the Transport Workers Union (TWU) the drivers outside the plant. This is a situation with great potential for demarcation disputes and for the proliferation of penalty rates over

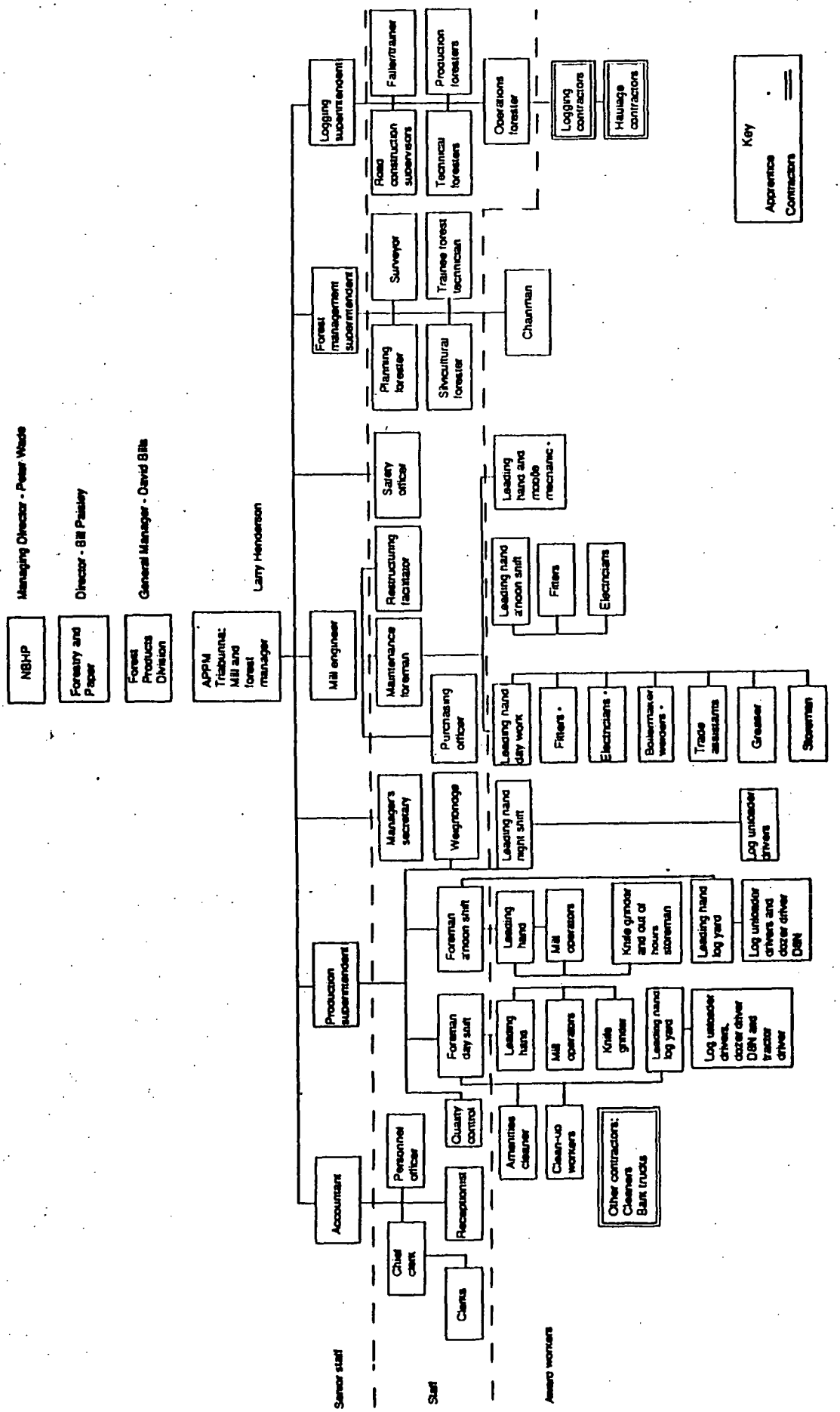


Fig. 5.2 The structure of APPM Triabunna, July 1990

shift work. The logging and transport of timber to the mill are done by contractors, as are certain functions within the mill.

Operating environment

APPM Triabunna is operating in conditions of extreme uncertainty. These stem from international factors such as Japanese buyers' strategies in relation to world markets and prices and from the tentative and inconstant federal and state government policies over resource strategies, in the context of the growing political strength of the environmental movement. Japanese price strategies have reduced the 1989 record price of $81 per tonne for green woodchips by three steps to the current price of $76 per tonne, negotiated in 1990 in a five year agreement. Competition with low cost producers such as Chile, and the possibilities of new producers such as the Solomon Islands are responsible for the buyers' ability to force prices down. The background of the state government initiative, the Forest and Forest Industry Strategy (FFIS), and the background to industry demands for resource security legislation have been detailed in Ch. 3. The uncertainty which emerged most acutely over the Wesley Vale pulp mill proposal, and was exacerbated by the Labour-Green Accord, still continues.

Areas of particular concern include woodchip quotas; pressure to increase royalties on export woodchips, which stand (1991) at $16.10 per tonne compared with $3 per tonne in Chile; and the Prime Minister's assertion that woodchip export from Australia should end by the year 2 000 (Australia, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 1990: 3.28). In addition, APPM claims that the recent declaration of the new Douglas-Apsley National Park (16 080 ha) in the northern part of the TPFH concession entailed a loss of timber equivalent to nine months production for the Triabunna mill. The FFIS is likely to entail changes to the concession system by which forestry companies have access to areas of forest; the current concession situation is shown in Fig. 5.3 and a location map of mainland Tasmania of places mentioned in discussion of APPM Triabunna is provided in Fig. 5.4. These uncertainties also influence individual workers and their families in the decisions they have to make in everyday life over such long term matters as home purchase, choice of schooling and retirement.

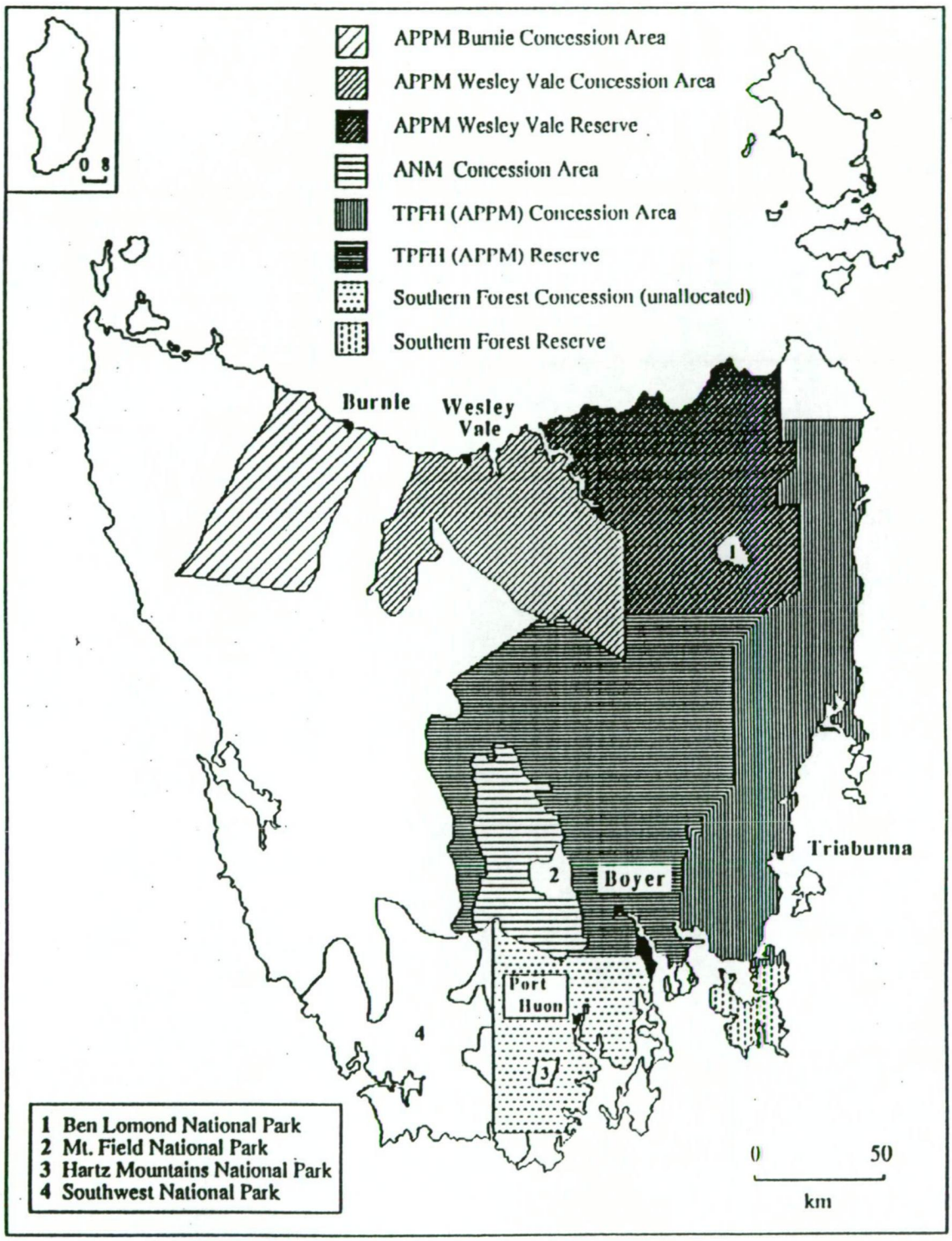
Labour market experience at APPM Triabunna

Of the 72 individuals in the sample who are in the labour force, six are directly employed and four sub-contracted by APPM. The actions of the company also impinge on others within the sample both in and out of the labour force: three women are also technically sub-contractors in their capacity as joint owners of log trucks with their partners, although their individual working arrangements differ; eight women in a variety of working situations are married to employees of the mill or sub-contractors; two women are married to men who accepted redundancy agreements in 1990; two men have retired from the mill

and one woman is married to a retired employee; one unemployed man's last job was with a sub-contractor; and two households already mentioned also have another member, father or son, working for the company. In total this represents a very considerable degree of dominance by the major employer.

Labour market experience varied among the three groups, award workers, staff and contractors. All of those interviewed are male, and the fact that the major employer has few job opportunities that are realistically likely to be considered by women, even though APPM is an equal opportunity employer, has implications for female employment in the area. At present the mill employs 103 males and 6 females.

All those interviewed are employed full-time, except for one contractor whose family partnership combined forest operations with farming, and who therefore works full-time but not full-time for APPM. The nature of the full-time working day, however, varies considerably. Most of the award workers work shifts, that is 8 am to 4 pm one week and 4 pm to midnight the next; an exception in the sample is a man receiving workers' compensation after an industrial accident who is on light duties and always on the day shift, and a driver who is rostered so that there are two drivers on duty from midnight to 8 am. The two-shift day for mill operators has general approval compared with three shifts, which were worked until 1990, despite the loss of penalty payments. Attitudes of award workers towards overtime appear ambivalent: on the one hand, overtime contributes to higher pay, but on the other there is some criticism of the award provision for compulsory overtime when there is a shortage of labour for loading a ship, or if the member of the relief shift does not turn up. In these latter circumstances, a worker can only be asked to work a double shift once a week, and the company must provide transport home if necessary. This provision, however, was part of recent negotiations over the unions' wish for flexible changeover times; a worker may go as soon as his replacement arrives but if the replacement does not show up at the end of the flexible changeover period, the company is not involved in 'call out' costs. The staff members work office hours, a minimum of 38 hours per week, or more correctly what is needed to fulfill their responsibilities, which is usually more than the minimum. There are also antisocial hours in the form of weekend work every second week in maintenance schedules. Staff members lost a roster day off in the last annual salary review and leave loading was changed in the previous one, to set an example to the award workers in difficult times, and they continue to work during industrial disputes. Contractors have a different pattern of working hours: the contractor in the sample who combines forest work with farming puts his logging contract work first and organises farming work round it. Log truck drivers have a fortnightly quota, and one said that he could fulfil that in six and a half working days of 12 hours, (allowing for summer fire danger days when he is not allowed in the forest after 11 am and wet weather days in winter when the Forestry Commission closes the roads in accordance with the Forest Practices Code), and that this was common practice.



Source: Hood (1988: 146) with permission

Fig. 5.3 Forest concessions in Tasmania

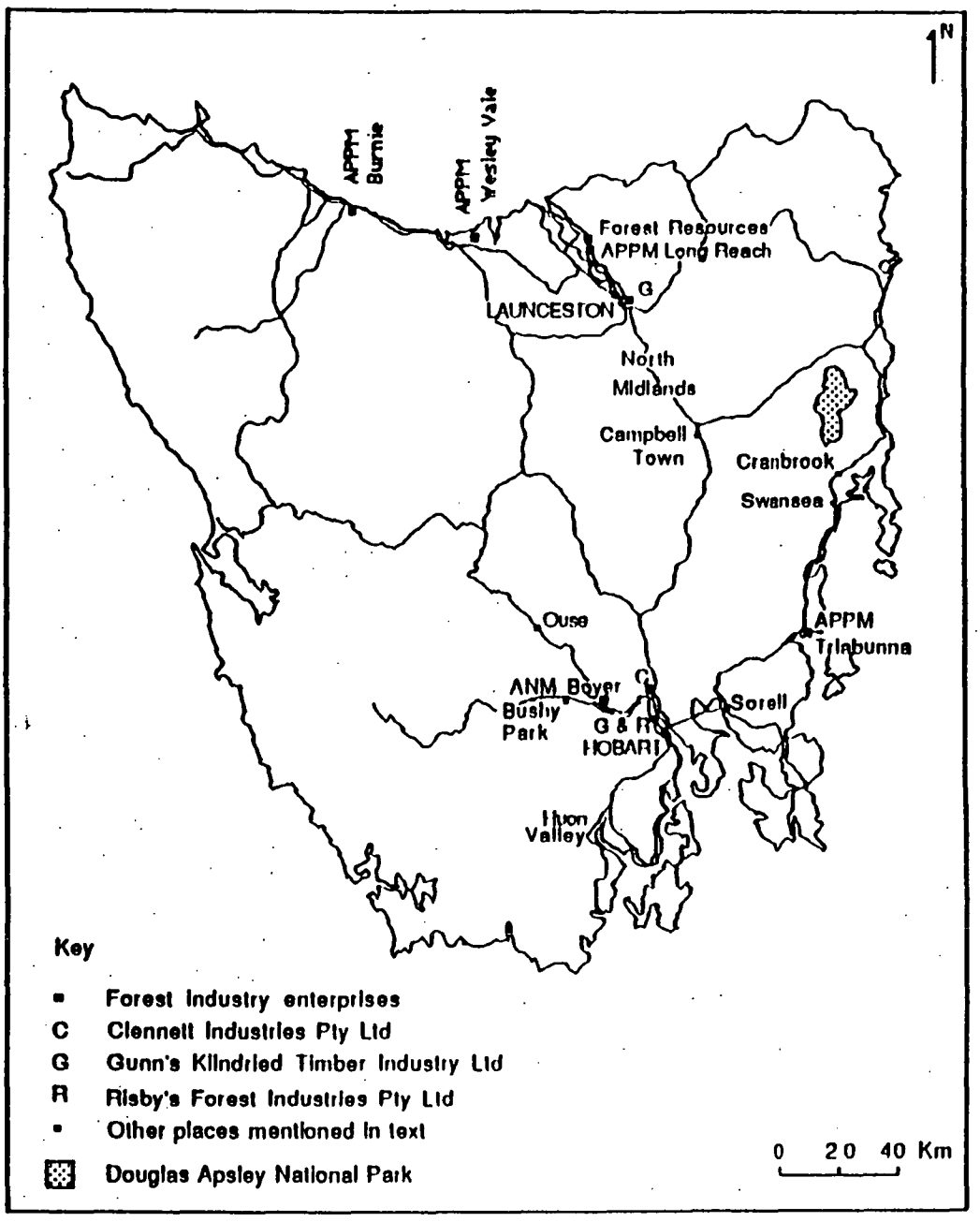


Figure 5.4 Location map for discussion of APPM Triabunna

At least one day per fortnight is spent on truck maintenance, although major work is kept where possible for the period after Christmas when the mill itself is closed for maintenance.

Remuneration is considered to be good. Mill operatives and drivers in the mill earn about $40 000 per year depending on the amount of overtime they do. This may be compared with the average male full-time earnings of $29 000 in Tasmania. This is 25 per cent above award rates which represents a flow on from the Burnie mill, and a 'disability allowance' for poor working conditions such as lack of footpaths, the wet nature of accumulated sawdust and bark in winter, and the requirement to go anywhere at any time. Only one of the award workers was able to explain why they were paid above award rates. Leading hands can earn between $45 000 and $55 000, depending on their area of work and amount of overtime worked. Junior staff members, including foremen, may not earn as much as award workers (and no overtime is available), whereas senior staff may earn between $40 000 and $60 000. The contractors are self-employed or employers, and thus the question of how much of what is earned is income arises. One owner-driver considered that on average he earned $44 000 per year as taxable income, with his utility vehicle and telephone counted as business necessities; this is in contrast to a driver employed by a log truck contractor who earns $38 000. Another owner-driver commented on his financial situation that, earning between $40 000 and $50 000, he had a little more money than average and a bigger overdraft. The costs of servicing capital in the truck business are considerable, and most owners replace their truck every four years and carry over a residue of debt to the next financial arrangement. One wife commented on the construction of Card A that 'we get more than that [the highest weekly figure quoted] for a day's work - if only it was all ours to spend!'

The occupations of both the award workers and the contractors fall into the group of plant and machine operators, of stationary or moving machinery. The conditions of work within the occupational classification vary. The contractors organise their own work, and one owner-driver put forward the view that his occupation required the skills of a driver, mechanic, heavy equipment operator, accountant, economist and lawyer. The award workers interviewed were all either mill operatives or drivers in the yard. Mill operative is a classification introduced through broadbanding in the process of award restructuring; prior to this, workers had more specific jobs such as operating the chipper or feeding logs into it. Although there were some negative reactions when broadbanding was introduced, interviewees reported general satisfaction with the increased variety of tasks entailed in the new arrangement. Some jobs involving particular skills, such as knife grinding, remain outside the broadbanding. Workplace restructuring has also entailed removing some of the demarcations between jobs. Previously, tasks such as changing a washer, a light bulb or a fuse, or applying lubricating oil, which most people do regularly in their own homes, were restricted to certain job classifications. These restrictive

practices have been replaced through the concept of multiskilling; training courses have been held so that any operative is now qualified to perform these tasks, but this form of restructuring does not extend 'behind the control panel', nor does it apply between drivers in the yard and mill operators. Compulsory training courses have also been initiated during the last year for all employees of contractors at the mill, who are required to obtain company certificates or licences in the operation of specific types of logging and loading equipment and in First Aid. These certificates seem to have engendered a certain amount of scepticism, to the extent of figuring in the sacking of one driver, but the underlying reason appears to be linked to insurance. The company arranges insurance for all the employees of contractors, although the costs are deducted from the contract. The occupations of staff members are either manager/administrator or paraprofessional, depending on the ratio of specific skills to general skills in their job, and if in the forestry supervision area entail much driving and time away from Triabunna.

The majority of those interviewed are in the age group 26 to 35 years, but two are 56 to 65 years. None has been with the company for less than eight years and two for the 20 years of the mill's operation, but half are doing different jobs from when they started. Some of this is the result of restructuring and some of promotion. The senior staff members have qualifications at diploma or degree level, received their training either in the company or through a cadetship, have worked at other APPM plants and owe their present job to promotion. In the award group, apart from one older man who left school at 14, all of those interviewed finished formal education at 16 or 17. Three have trade qualifications and the rest have no formal qualifications; the two younger contractors are in the group with trade qualifications. The award workers all approached the company personally seeking employment, not using the Commonwealth Employment Service, although one who joined the company in 1980 said he signed on the dole as TPFH, as it then was, would only take those who were registered as unemployed, in response to some government initiative. There was little sense of looking for promotion; the impression given was that this is a well-paid stable job, and that leading hand or foreman status and pay is not worth the added responsibility. Nor was there any suggestion of looking elsewhere for improved employment, only of apprehension about what would happen if the mill were to close. The employment situation has changed from the early years when the plant was new, and labour inexperienced, when the company might sack as many as seven workers a week and experienced hands from ANM Boyer or EZ at Risdon were welcomed, to the present situation in which there is known to be a waiting list for jobs, there is a low labour turnover and few dismissals - 'only a couple have been sacked in my time here'. There is thus an atmosphere of short term complacency but long term uncertainty. The most vivid experience of recent times is undoubtedly the four week industrial dispute which is analysed later in this chapter. People in the area and particularly Triabunna were deeply divided, and social tension was high, involving wives and families, with several

incidents of threats reported. Uncertainty led to a cutback in spending which affected the retail sector of the community.

Staff are not union members, and the award workers in the sample are members of ATAIU or FEDFA. None is an active member and few think that the unions have done much for them personally, but one who had been a shop steward elsewhere put forward the obverse view that experienced local men in the ATAIU have helped the union by getting the moderate opinion in first and avoiding extremes. The log truck contractors in the sample, however, are or have been, office holders in the East Coast Log Hauliers Association, affiliated to the TWU, and at the time of interviewing were spending considerable amounts of time in negotiations both in Triabunna and Hobart. Several award workers voiced concern that the truck drivers were attempting to involve them in their dispute.

Thus although all those interviewed who are employed by the major employer are male and full-time, removing from the situation two of the aspects of a segmented internal labour market, they nevertheless had experienced the labour market in all its facets very differently according to whether they were in the staff, award worker or contractor segment. Despite attempts at restructuring, the only movement between segments appeared to be the possibility of moving from leading hand (award) to foreman (staff).

Restructuring at APPM Triabunna

The current restructuring at APPM Triabunna fits into the patterns discussed in Ch. 3 and in particular takes the three forms identified by Massey and Meegan (1982, 1985). There has been intensification through ensuring fewer breakdowns and through reorganisation of work schedules; investment and technological change have occurred and some appears to have been the result of Green pressure; and rationalisation of contracting arrangements is being attempted. The next paragraphs describe these processes in more detail and place some of the previous section on individual experience in context.

Intensification and workplace change

Through engineering attention to detail, breakdowns of plant have been reduced and quality as well as performance have been improved. For example, the bark content of the woodchips has been reduced from 0.5 per cent to 0.3 per cent over the year prior to interviewing, even in winter when the bark is tight, using the same debarking machinery. Thus less time has been lost and labour productivity has increased. When the mill went from three eight hour shifts to two by abolishing the night shift a redundancy package was offered to older workers who in effect took early retirement. This job shedding, which is part of rationalisation, has also resulted in intensification; the mill was struggling to process 4 000t per day in three shifts, but now is chipping 3 800t per day in two shifts. There are, however, some factors associated with other aspects of restructuring in this productivity increase.

The Australian Industrial Commission's ruling (the Structural Efficiency Principle, August 1989) that wage rises and career paths should be linked to the breakdown of demarcation and restrictive practices to achieve improved productivity (Australia, Department of Industrial Relations 1989: 3) gave the company an opportunity to take action and it appointed a restructuring facilitator. There is also a site consultative committee, but its effectiveness is tempered by some unions being less cooperative than others. A member of FEDFA said that the union invokes the 'rule of the yard' to avoid changes in 'how it's always been done' and also has a 'drop everything and walk out' attitude to industrial relations. In the event of a worker leaving, the union ensures that other workers do not fill in so that he must be replaced. The ETU, which used to be the classic case of insistence on demarcation barriers, has proved more cooperative in restructuring; previously an electrician called in 'to push a button' in an emergency could get nine hours pay for one hour, and could be earning $60 000 a year. Now the ETU has agreed to other workers pushing buttons but not, as previously mentioned, to the extent of 'going behind the panel'. In addition, negotiations have resulted in the provision of a separate isolator for the chipper, which mill operators can use for the four-hourly knife changes. These changes have been implemented by internal training courses where the electricians instructed other workers; other internal courses lead to certificates in First Aid and the use of cranes and forklifts, and fitters have instructed mill operators on lubricating procedures. Built-in overtime remains; in the award a worker must stay and do overtime if his relief fails to turn up, and overtime is compulsory when a ship is in, which adds to costs. Nevertheless first steps towards a multi-skilled core workforce have been taken, and the mill has three projects in hand under Federal Government grants to implement Total Quality Management, involving workers taking more responsibility for the quality of their work; these include the areas of the more efficient movement of material in the yard and the operation of the small wood line.

Investment

As a result of pressure from the Green Independents a small-wood line costing $2.8 million was built to deal with mixed loads of large logs and smaller regrowth timber, which are likely to increase as the FFIS is implemented and policed. This installation was accelerated by the Forestry Commission introducing a regulation that only five tonnes of timber per hectare can be left on a logged site, thus increasing the amount of limb wood harvested. A further investment has been a concrete floor and insulated steel wall to reduce noise levels from the chipper, at a cost of $100 000.

Rationalisation

The rationalisation of contracting arrangements is the least successful area of restructuring. It gained controversial publicity through the log truck dispute, and best illustrates the complex nature of some restructuring processes. The following account of events and discussion of issues is an attempt to give an unbiased view, but it must be

realised that the protagonists did and do not agree on matters of alleged fact, and that, in a stressful social situation, some actions were taken on belief rather than proved fact. For four weeks from 17 May 1991, 20 laden log trucks blockaded the entrance to the Triabunna chipmill, allegedly after the company unloaded logs which had been carted for 10 per cent less than the ruling rates. Another 40 or so trucks lined up behind wishing to deliver logs. Writs of trespass and contempt of court, under section 45D of the Trade Practices Act, were issued in the Supreme Court against 20 owner-drivers; these were withdrawn and then nine were re-issued. Production at the mill stopped on 28 May, with 80 mill workers stood down and more than 100 bush workers also affected. APPM's Tamar mill was blockaded in the first week of June. Just as negotiations were gaining some momentum, a new company, the Derwent Forest Company, maintained its right to negotiate new stump-to-mill contracts with logging contractors, and tendered with a 10 per cent reduction in haulage rates. On 8 June the State Government intervened in the dispute: a month's truce was imposed by the Minister for Industrial Relations for negotiations convened under the chairmanship of a government advisor; new regulations of the Department of Roads and Transport, Transport Division (Transport Tasmania) placed an embargo on laden trucks being on the road between 8 pm and 4 am; and APPM agreed to pay drivers at the previous rate during the month of negotiations. The picketing trucks were removed and work at the mill resumed on 11 June.

Behind this month-long industrial action lies a complex situation. The main points at issue are:

- the nature of the contracting relation between the company, the logging contractors and the truck drivers;
- cuts in haulage rates;
- a reduction in the number of trucks supplying the mill;
- the introduction of 24 hours a day carting;
- the replacement of fortnightly quotas by tendering; and
- possible changes to the truck licence system.

Contracting relation

At present, a fortnightly quota of logs is allocated to each logging contractor to be felled on the current coupes (logging areas) and transported to the mill. This quota varies with Japanese demand and is divided up amongst the trucks for transport. The rate for this carting is fixed according to a set of formulae taking into account distance, type of road, payload etc. Some logging contractors own trucks as well as their pushing, falling and loading equipment, some have a relationship with owner-drivers of log trucks, or with haulage contractors who may drive one of their own trucks and employ other drivers as well, and some logging contractors own some trucks and contract others.

It is the nature of this relationship between logging contractors and haulage contractors which figures largely in the current dispute. The company wishes to negotiate with the logging contractors, who will be responsible for the sub-contract to the haulage contractors. The Tasmanian Logging Association (TLA) would be happy to have stump to mill negotiations again. Mr Bernard Saunders of the TLA points out that the Triabunna situation is atypical within the state[1]; the APPM Long Reach mill has only 15 owner-drivers out of about 70 trucks, while Triabunna has 55 out of about 80. During 1986/7 truck operators, through the TWU, approached APPM to deal directly with the company, (on the basis that all logging contractors did not pay promptly), and this was conceded. In the TLA's view, the average owner-driver is worth about half a million dollars, but the logging contractors have five times that amount invested in their enterprises. The ECLHA does not accept that the cartage contractor is subordinate to the logging contractor. Both individual members and the ECLHA itself have taken legal advice, specifically on the issue of the new agreements which some logging contractors have presented to owner-drivers, in what had previously been an unwritten agreement. The legal opinion obtained is that if APPM is not a party to the agreement, the owner-drivers should be absolutely satisfied that they are dealing with a person or body of substance against whom they could enforce any obligations in their favour, commenting that small proprietary limited companies are notorious for having little or no property or means, so that enforcement is often impossible should contractors fail to perform their part of the bargain. The legal opinion further pointed out that there appeared to be no obligation imposed on the contractor or on APPM to provide a guarantee of supply of specified amounts of logs to be carried over a specified period of time, but that there was an obligation for the owner-driver to provide a vehicle to carry logs.

Cuts in haulage rates

APPM negotiated for a five per cent cut in haulage rates from 1 July 1991 and another 15 per cent to come. The company pays $15 million per year in cartage costs and sees this as an area in which costs can be reduced to improve competitiveness. The truck owners agree to the necessity of some cuts to maintain and improve competitiveness on world markets and at the beginning of May were prepared to accept a five per cent cut. In their view, however, even a further five per cent cut would be impossible. The company view is that the truck drivers have the right to refuse to cart at the price offered. It wants the maximum use of capital and is seeking to impose its requirements on the contractors, maintaining that it cannot 'quarantine inefficiencies'.

The situation was further complicated by the emergence in May of the Derwent Forest Company, consisting of APPM, ANM and three big saw millers (Clennett Industries Pty Ltd, Risby Forest Industries Pty Ltd and Gunns Kilndried Timber Industries Ltd which is 42

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[1] pers.comm. August 1991

per cent owned by APPM). Three of the larger logging contractors decided they could absorb a 10 per cent reduction in cartage rates and negotiated with their drivers. Some drivers were sacked when they refused to sign new agreements. Some of the trucks had licences for carting to ANM Boyer, and had carted small regrowth timber from the ANM concession to Triabunna and caused an earlier and less publicised picket at APPM Triabunna in April 1991.

Reduction in the truck numbers and introduction of 24 hours a day carting

The company argues that there are too many trucks not working efficiently and therefore demanding higher rates than would be necessary under other systems. The company offered $60 000 to any truck owner leaving the industry; two truck owners accepted but after that the demand was raised to $130 000 on the basis of payment for goodwill. The company also wants drivers to team up either by owning a truck jointly or by one driver employing another; the mechanism by which this would take place is not spelled out, but owner-drivers fear that if it came to industrial muscle, it would happen by bankruptcy and repossession. One view expressed is that what is at stake for the truck drivers is an ethos or a culture, rather than economic necessity. Fortnightly quotas mean that trucks work long hours early in the fortnight; if it were obligatory to install recorders on trucks to monitor working hours, it would spread work out, be better for the community because of staggering the number of trucks on the road at any time, and make for greater efficiency in the mill yard. This view is also put forward in company advertisements in the local press. Mr Saunders of the TLA agrees that double shifts and 24 hour carting are attractive to larger contractors. Dr Bob Brown, the Green Independent Member for Denison, speaking in the Tasmanian House of Representatives on 18 June 1991 in support of the east coast log drivers, argued that

> ... [it is] the people who overload their trucks, who service and maintain their trucks poorly, the owners who do not pay drivers properly, and who are prepared to drive 24 hours a day or drive out of hours and beyond the legal limit, who are best able to stay in the market. ... The people who properly maintain their trucks, who pay their log truck drivers the full amount, who say there is a limit of eleven hours per day ... that truck drivers are allowed to be on the roads and they cannot go beyond that, and who say that they are going to keep the maintenance on their trucks recognised as equal to the best in the world, are operators who will not be able to survive (Tasmania, Parliament 1991: 1801).

Dr Brown argued that there was a danger of losing the best operators, whom he regarded as those who have been prepared to stand up for their rights and picket in contrast to those moving into an arrangement with the DFC which wants to take control of the log truck driving aspect of the industry and squeeze it as tight as possible. This apparently unlikely alliance between a Green Independent politician and log truck drivers, and the resulting parliamentary rhetoric, serve to illustrate the deep divisions between the large, intermediate and small operators.

The TLA and the ECLHA do, however, agree that the buying out is no longer a contentious issue; it has been resolved by accepting valuation by means of three current quotations plus 40 per cent which is the practice in other parts of the haulage industry. Since the survey was done, the ECLHA have been working on a three way contract between the truck owners, the logging contractors and APPM, in terms of 'the right to cart wood from the said contractor'. Meanwhile APPM has written to TLA asking them to formulate a 'stump to mill rate model'. The ECLHA do not wish to fight the TLA, and are suggesting that they do not have the expertise to set the logging as opposed to the harvesting rates, and have been pointing out that the loggers do not at present have the security that their suggested three way contract would give.

Tendering and the licence system

The trucks which cart to APPM Triabunna have a licence which restricts them to that area of operation, unless they have an exemption permit from Transport Tasmania. Only 24 of the 92 trucks come from Triabunna, Orford or Buckland. The majority of the rest come from Swansea, Cranbrook and Sorell on the east coast, the Derwent Valley, and Campbell Town and other centres in the north midlands (Fig. 5.5). Some of the logging contractors who own trucks have some trucks licensed for APPM Triabunna and some for ANM Boyer (see Fig. 5.4). The alliance represented by the DFC raises the possibility that pressure may be brought to change the licensing system. The abolition of the system would give an advantage to the larger contractors who could organise their haulage more efficiently and flexibly in spatial terms between the various mills.

In addition to the regulation that logs could not be carted before 4 am and after 8 pm Monday to Friday, changes to cart licences were made in July 1991 by the Transport Commission:

> In these depressed times there are pressures on all parties to economise and to pursue greater efficiency by changing work practices. The Transport Commission supports the pursuit of efficiency but is concerned that changes are taking place without proper consultation and (hence) potentially at the expense of road safety and the well-being of the general community.
>
> In order to minimise this possibility the Commission will increase its monitoring and control of log cartage in the State.
>
> To coincide with the renewal of cart licences which apply to all log jinkers and log skeletal trailers the licence conditions have been changed to unambiguously tie each jinker or trailer to one chip or pulp mill (where applicable). Such vehicles are authorised to cart logs to that mill (but not in competition with rail). In most cases veneer logs and saw logs may be carted anywhere in the State. The carriage of other logs to other destinations will be subject to the approval of the Transport Commission (Transport Tasmania: Circular to Operators of Log Trucks, 1 July 1991).

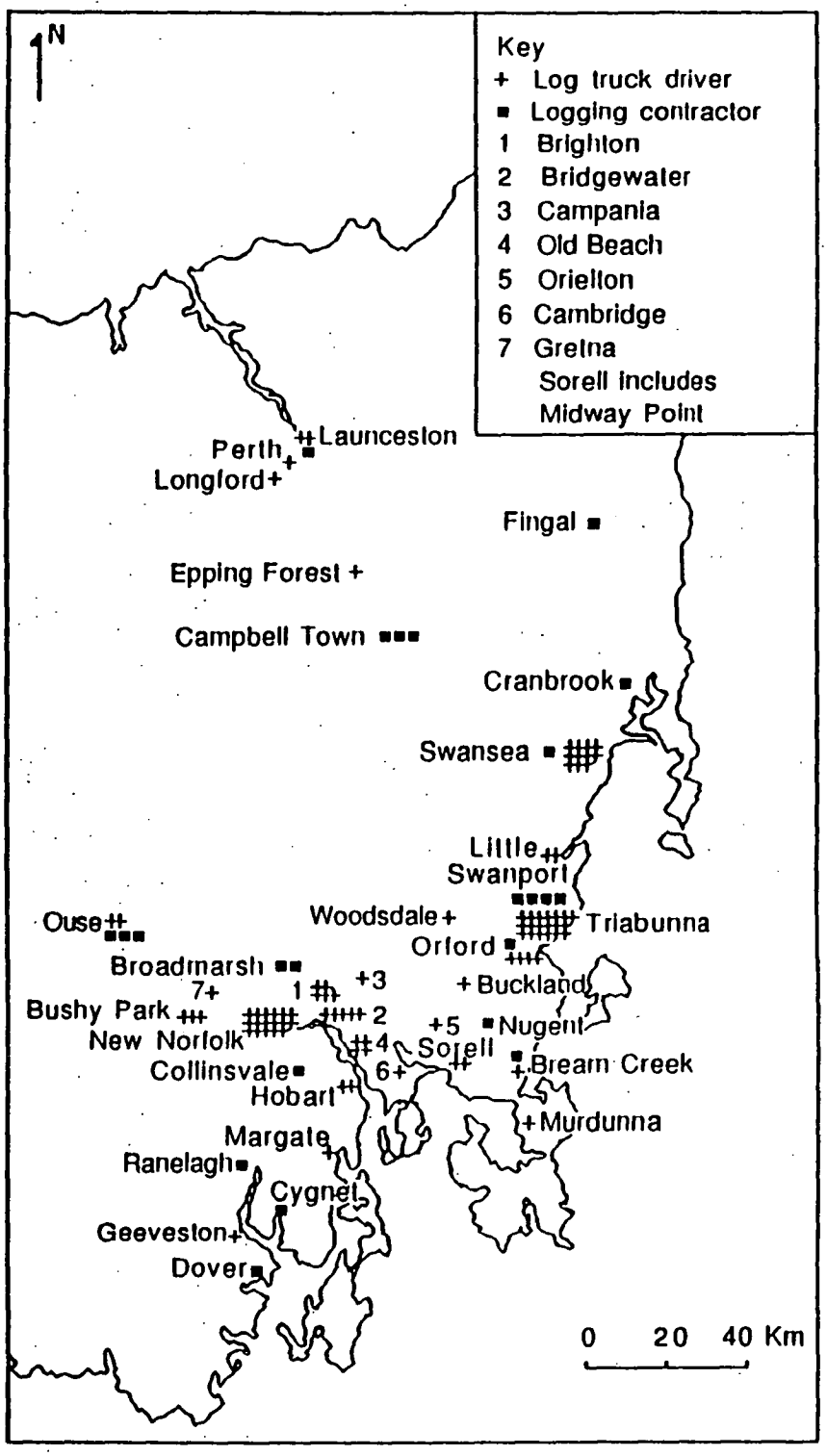


Fig. 5.5 Home location of logging contractors and log truck drivers supplying APPM Triabunna, 1991

The Public Vehicle Licence for the trailer replaces the statement 'For carrying logs for T.P.F.H Ltd and its subsidiaries' with 'For carrying logs harvested by [specific logging contractor named] for processing by T.P.F.H., veneer logs and saw logs and other logs in accordance with arrangements lodged with and approved by the Transport Commission.' Although this might appear to increase the tie between cartage contractors and logging contractors, it was welcomed by the cartage contractors as it reduced the possibility of ANM drivers bringing logs to APPM Triabunna since objections can be lodged against published applications for exemption. NB Sunday carting is prohibited by the Sunday Observance Act; this legislation could be altered but can not just be done by regulation change.

The situation over log truck contracts has not finally been resolved. The dispute is technically not an industrial one since action was taken in the Supreme Court and not before the Industrial Commission. The talks, while not broken down, have been in abeyance; this may be partly delaying tactics on the part of the company. The mill closed from 19 December 1991 to 20 January 1992, when the next ship was due, a longer period than usual. There were high stocks of wood chips and the company is tied to the buyers' shipping schedule. The contract is for 813 000t per year, with a minimum of 730 000t. The company warned the drivers that times were likely to be lean because of a downturn in the Japanese paper market, and offered advice on ways to survive by double shifts etc; beyond this market forces will operate. In the course of 1992 there were two sackings, two bankruptcies and other owner-drivers are alleged to be several months behind in payments to the bank and may be in debt to fuel suppliers as well (Moore 1992b). Early in 1993, a log truck rationalisation scheme was put forward by a joint government/industry working party, whereby woodchip companies would provide funds to buy out surplus trucks in return for being allowed to make cost-cutting reforms including 24 hour carting. Only ANM supports this scheme; neither APPM nor Forest Resources (Boral) has provided money. The scheme also provides for log truck licence-holders to increase their load limits by paying fees of either $2 500 or $2 750 depending on the number of axles on their rig into the buy-out fund to enable more licence-holders to leave the industry under the scheme's second stage (Bendeich 1993b). The state secretary of the TWU said that at least the State Government had reached the best situation possible for the seven people hit hardest (Hobart Saturday Mercury 1993) - a fittingly unenthusiastic comment on the possible resolution by state action of a power struggle between large and small capital.

In March 1992, APPM apparently became disillusioned with the slow progress made in workplace reform within its plants and put into practice a tactical plan which had been worked out over several months by a task force advised by Robe River personnel. *A matter of survival* (Fig. 5.6), putting the company position and cancelling several over-award agreements, was published in Tasmanian newspapers and led to militant industrial action

A matter of survival

APPM Reports

APPM has begun a difficult but urgent human exercise. It must convince its workers throughout Tasmania that new and better work practices are needed to ensure economic survival.

And already the response from our employees at our mill sites around Tasmania has been one of acknowledged acceptance and understanding that this is now the reality for all of us.

They know we must compete on an open market against international competitors. They are more efficient than we are. Instead of closing the gap, we have let it grow wider.

So workplace inefficiencies, some of them dating back decades, must go. In 1991 APPM is facing up to the stark economic realities that most Tasmanian farmers and business people have already come to terms with.

Survival demands efficiency.
Simple as that.

Anyone who does not understand this is not involved in business.

So we have no choice. Nor do our workers. If things were to continue the way they are, we would soon be out of business and they would be unfortunately out of a job.

Normal earnings of our employees will not be affected as a result of this decision.

Wage rates including a 25% over-award payment will be maintained. So too will the shorter week week where it currently applies, and superannuation and redundancy payments will be maintained.

Nor will employees be tied in to any unreasonable work practices.

On the contrary, broad skilling and the establishment of career paths will create new rewards.

What will go forever are the counter productive demarcations and other inefficiencies that management and workers have allowed to become part of the APPM culture over many years.

External economic reality dictates that these practices and attitudes can no longer be tolerated in our existing operations.

Getting rid of them is a matter of survival.

From today each of us is being asked to work as though his or her job depends on it. Because, it really does.

Chris Oldfield

Chris Oldfield, APPM

Hobart Mecury 7 March 1992: 4

Protecting ourselves, our customers, our workers and the Tasmanian people

TO: APPM customers, workers and the Tasmanian people

KEEPING OUR MARKET

To protect our future in Tasmania, we must retain our share of the Australian paper market by continuing to meet our customers' needs.

We are determined to do this, for our benefit and for yours, regardless of the right economic climate and threats of industrial disruption.

To make sure we can maintain supplies to our key customers in the event of disruptions, we have bought substantial emergency stocks of partly processed paper from the United States.

This paper will be further processed at our Burnie mill.

If for any reason we do not have enough Tasmanian-made paper to meet customer needs, we will supply this imported paper.

The alternative is to lose market share permanently. This would mean fewer local jobs, both direct and indirect and a substantial decline in our contribution to the Tasmanian economy.

For APPM's sake, for our customers' sake, for our workers' sake and for Tasmania's sake, we are not prepared to let that happen.

TO: All APPM employees

STOPWORK MEETINGS, MONDAY APRIL 6

APPM is pleased that many of you have contacted the company to make clear your wish to avoid any action which may put you in breach of your contracts of employment.

APPM makes the following points to make sure there is no confusion about its employee requirements on Monday.

1. All employees rostered to work on Monday are required to be there.
2. APPM will do its best to make sure that work is available and accessible to all of its Tasmanian sites on that day.
3. You are formally reminded that neither the Production Award nor the M&S Agreement allows you to attend stopwork meetings.
4. Any employee who does not report for work will face disciplinary action.
   5. If there are unauthorised absences, APPM will take all available means to maintain production and minimise financial loss.
   6. The ACTU has been told APPM reserves its right to recover financial damages for any losses caused by a stopwork meeting.

APPM

Naturally Tasmanian

Saturday Mercury 4 April 1992: 14

Figure 5.6 APPM's newspaper announcements

at the Burnie mill (Moore 1992a). Significantly, the Triabunna mill workers took no action, but the log truck drivers took their rigs to Burnie to keep their claims in the public eye. A compromise reached on 12 June included the removal of the over-award conditions and demarcation problems, the company retaining the right to appeal against negotiated workplace changes in the award handed down by the Industrial Relations Commission, and the ACTU maintaining the right for unions to represent workers in negotiations on workplace conditions. The managing director of NBHP said:

> [w]e have not tried to change the structure of industrial relations. We have not tried to change the award. We have not been trying to put the New Zealand model in Australia (Teh 1992: 27).

Nevertheless, in October 1992, APPM was involved in further negotiations to reduce its operating costs by 25 per cent over two years, to achieve a single annualised salary removing penalty rates, holiday loading and some overtime and accumulated sick leave, to cut the work force in the northern mills by 300 by the end of the year, and to implement enterprise agreements (Dally 1992). Thus the North Group as a whole appears to be operating a strategy of the type discussed in Ch. 3 of deliberate anti-union manoeuvres to allow for cost cutting. The situation at APPM Triabunna is not yet resolved, and all indications suggest that conditions will deteriorate in the future.

5.1.2 Small businesses

Of the 72 individuals in the sample who are in the labour force, 45 are in small businesses in some capacity, in addition to the four contractors already discussed under the major employer. The term 'small business' is notoriously difficult to define, and is used here in the most general sense of businesses with less than 50 full-time employees or part-time equivalent, although most of the enterprises are much smaller than that. Sixty per cent of those in the labour force in the sample are in workplaces with less than ten employees. Some of the enterprises, however, particularly in agriculture, are not small in terms of capital although their labour inputs are small. Of the ABS's employment status categories, used in Ch. 3, 16 of the sample are employers (13 males and three females), seven are self-employed (four males and three females), and 22 are employees. Of the 22 employees, 13 are full-time (11 males and two females) and nine part-time (all females). Table 5.6 shows the employment status by industry and gender of the individuals in the 1991 sample who are involved in small business. The categories in this table are from division and subdivision levels of ASIC as seemed appropriate, and with 'hospitality' replacing the cumbersome subdivisions and groups within Recreation, Personal and Other Services.

The employers in the sample, with two exceptions, are over the age of 35 years, and two are over 65. Four, in farming and fishing, have been in their present circumstances for between 20 and 40 years, but the majority for five years or less. It is common knowledge

Table 5.6 Involvement in small business: employment status by industry and gender in the Spring Bay sample, 1991

Sector	Employers (16)		Self-employed (7)		Wage/salary earners (22)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Farming	5		1	1	2	
Fishing	1	1		1	1	1PT
Forestry	1					
Manufacturing	2				3	1PT
Construction	2		1		2	
Transport			1		2	
Retailing		1	1	1	1	3PT
Community services	1 PT					1PT
Hospitality	2	1				5PT
Total	13	3	4	3	11	11

that there has been a big turnover in small businesses particularly in retail trade, in the area over the last 15 years and there has also been some restructuring of family farm holdings. Eight employers have no formal qualifications, two have degrees, three have teaching diplomas and three have trade qualifications, and there is little relation between formal qualifications and present financial success. Two of the enterprises are in financial difficulties, in one other the partners have taken a cut in salary, and in others this year's income will depend very much on the wool prices which are currently uncertain because of the changes in the wool marketing structure. (In the event average farm incomes were significantly down (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1992b[1]) Several of the employers explained that it is virtually meaningless to ask small rural business persons what their income is, because of the variability from year to year (farmers are taxed on a five year average), and also because of the decisions as to how much of the income in any one year will be ploughed back into the business. The figures for income should therefore be viewed as last year's situation with no guarantee that they will represent this year's situation. Within this sample of small businesses, there is a considerable range of financial situations: some are using investment income to keep businesses going until there is an upturn in the rural sector; some enterprises yield the employer an income of just over $6 000 per year and might be regarded as a hobby; a major group produces between $24 000 and $29 000 (i.e. under the average male Tasmanian wage); and at the top end of the scale, the tax paid by individual partners is considerably in excess of $75 000.

Three of the employers interviewed are sole traders, nine are in family partnerships which encompass spouses, sons and brothers, and three are in private companies; legally

[1]In the Australian sheep industry, average cash operating surplus per farm business fell from $45 000 in 1989-1990 to $17 500 in 1990-1991, a fall of 61.7 per cent. In the Tasmanian average farm business cash operating surplus decreased 33.4 per cent from $40 100 to $26 700 (ABS No 7507.0: 2, 10)

those in private companies are employees of their own companies, but do not regard themselves as such. All except one of those interviewed are workers as well as employers. Table 5.7 illustrates the great variability in current employment strategies within and between sectors and the importance of family partners' labour and female casual labour in maintaining viability. The fact that five of those interviewed had reduced their workforce during the last five years by between one and three full-time employees, one had laid off two casual workers and another had replaced two full-time workers by two part-timers indicates the importance of labour costs in the survival of small businesses. One new business created two jobs in the course of setting up, while another has increased its casual staffing as business has increased. Four of the employers have used the state government 'Add an Apprentice' scheme with reasonable results, in that only one apprentice gave up during the apprenticeship, and four others were able to find employment elsewhere on completion; only one employer has been involved in the 'Traineeship Tasmania' scheme. None of those interviewed has had difficulty in obtaining suitable employees, beyond one in the hospitality industry who has found a shortage of cooks. Nevertheless, several pay above award rates to keep good employees and others give other incentives such as housing and use of vehicles. Methods of recruiting employees are informal; word of mouth, personal approach (in both directions), children and friends of existing employees, contacts in education and 'headhunting' were all cited. Only six belong to a professional association, three to the Tasmanian Farmers and Graziers Association, and three to the Australian Hotels Association. Seven expressed dissatisfaction with their current situation, and the remainder were satisfied in the long term, with some having short-term reservations.

Table 5.7 Structure of employment in the employer section of the Spring Bay sample, 1991

Type of enterprise	Number of working partners/owners		Total empl-oyed	Full-time employees		Part-time/ casual/seasonal employees	
	M	F	P	M	F	M	F
Fishing/aquaculture	1		3	2			
Fishing/aquaculture	1	1	3	3			
Farming	2	1	2	1		1	
Farming	2		3	3			
Farming*	1		2	2			
Farming*			2	2			
Hospitality	1	1	11			4	7
Hospitality*	1	1	33	5	7		21
Hospitality	1	1	2				
Retail	1	1	2				2
Retail	1PT	1	3				2
Retail	1	1	3	2			
Construction	1		2	1			1
Community services	1		3				3

* also non-working partners

The small group of self-employed illustrates some of the heterogeneity of work situations within this definition. The ABS defines 'self-employed' as someone who is 'conducting own business but not employing others' (ABS 1986: 94). Within the sample are examples of tradesmen who sub-contract on a 'labour only' basis; tradesmen who work on their own; retailers who are single operators; retailers within family partnerships who until recently were employers and are now doing everything themselves; owner-drivers of trucks who do contract work; and farmers and fishermen who have no employees. The group covers the age ranges 18 to 55 years; five of them have no formal qualifications, and two have trade qualifications. All are full time and have been in their present employment situation for periods ranging from two to seventeen years. Their incomes range from none (an overdraft) to between $40 000 and $50 000, but mostly are well below the Tasmanian average male wage. Three expressed satisfaction with their job situation, two were dissatisfied, and two had reservations about their situation in the short term, with regard to industrial disputes and wool prices. Three of those interviewed are considering returning to employee status if the opportunity occurs. This group therefore defies generalisation beyond the fact that all members conduct their own business (for the moment) and do not employ others.

The 22 employees in small businesses are clearly divided into full-time and part-time workers. Of the 13 full-time workers, 11 are male and two female; one of the females is anomalous in being a casual employee and is considered with the other casual/part-time workers, the status of employment being thought more important than current hours worked. The full-time employees are spread evenly through farming, fishing, construction, manufacturing, transport, retailing and the hospitality industry. Occupations are spread again fairly evenly through labourers, plant and machinery operators, tradesmen, paraprofessionals, and management. There are none in sales and personal service or clerical jobs, as many of these are part-time or done by self-employed persons or employers in the retail sector, or occur in the public service, as do most of the professional positions. More than half of the group are in the age range 26 to 35 years, two thirds have no formal qualifications and a quarter have trade qualifications. In this group the older men have the highest earnings, in the range of $29 000 to between $40 000 and $50 000, while the remainder are below the Tasmanian average male wage. None of the group has been longer than eight years in the current job, with the average being just over four years. Forty per cent of the group got their present job through word of mouth, and the rest through their parents, answering a newspaper advertisement, or being offered the job unsought. Only one third of the group belongs to a trade union, and two of those commented that it was not possible to do their jobs without being members of the TWU. All but two expressed satisfaction with the terms of their jobs, but commented that there was little chance of promotion or betterment except for going into business on their own, either as an employer or self-employed.

The nine part-time employees in the sample are all casual in status, meaning that they do not receive sick pay, long service leave or holiday pay, and this also applies to the one full-time casual employee. Three of the ten work for more than one employer, one for two and the others for three, while the remainder work for single employers, involving four enterprises. Their ages cover the range of groups from 18 to 55 years, with 60 per cent over 35 years. Two have children under school age, five have children in various parts of the school system and three have no children living at home. One works full-time, three have agreed stable hours, four have variable hours (two varying with the amount of work on hand and two seasonally), one is on call except for one agreed full day, and one works a split shift, which is variable on call. The majority are in sales and personal service occupations, with two labourers and two in clerical employment, and none has formal qualifications. The clerical workers are employed less than 15 hours per week, and apart from the full-timer, the remainder work 25 to 34 hours per week, including the seasonal workers when they are working. Income varies with hours worked, but the majority were paid by the hour at around $10 per hour; one exception to this negotiated a higher rate on the basis of skills not easily obtained in the community. Only two of the group belonged to a trade union, one from personal commitment and one because the job demanded it. All obtained employment by word of mouth or 'went looking for it'. Seven of the group were satisfied with their job situation, did not want full-time work and felt that what they had fitted in with varying family responsibilities. Three were dissatisfied either with the few hours or frustrated with lack of opportunity in general.

In all the categories of small business employment it was commented that the nature of the work encourages multi-skilling, and wry amusement was expressed that 'big business' and the state had just got round to recognising the advantages of flexible labour situations. The farming and hospitality industries, with seasonal considerations, in particular benefit from traditional flexible work practices, but within all groups, respondents saw variety of tasks as one of the things they valued. Both employers and self-employed were vocal on the subject of the advantages (and disadvantages) of being your own boss. These responses are epitomised by one who, when asked the advantages of being self-employed, replied tersely 'Bugger all ... but on the other hand you're talking about freedom ... destiny ... my whole life'. A contemporary in a partnership said 'It's the same star at the end of the road for us all'. The importance of mores as well as economics was abundantly apparent.

5.1.3 State employment

Of the 72 individuals in the sample who are in the labour force, 14 are employed by the state in various departments, agencies and instrumentalities. One works for Telecom, which is under the Commonwealth government, one works for the local council, and the remainder are employed by the Tasmanian government in the Department of Education and the Arts, the Department of Health, the Forestry Commission, all based locally, and

one in the Department of Primary Industry in Hobart. Five additional people in the sample have long or short term government contract work through the Department of Construction, the Department of Parks, Wildlife and Heritage, the Department of Sport and Recreation and Australia Post. If the state is regarded as a single entity, it is the biggest single employer in the area, and state employment strategies have considerable local effect. Recent restructuring following the CRESAP Report referred to in Ch. 3 resulted in one of the sample losing a part-time job with the Department of Education and the Arts, and another, whose spouse was retrenched by the local council, making adjustments in her employment situation.

State employees in the sample comprise seven males and two females working full-time, and five females working part-time. Age groups range from 18 to 25 years to 46 to 55, with the median age being 26 to 35 years. The occupations of the full-time employees are three managers/administrators, three professionals, one paraprofessional, one clerical and one plant and machinery operator. The remuneration at managerial level is towards the top of the range, from $40 000 to $75 000 per year. The professional, paraprofessional, clerical employees are all in the range $24 000 to $40 000, according to length of service and posts of responsibility, an interesting contrast with the remuneration of mill operatives. The managers and professionals in this full-time group have degrees or diplomas, one the result of work as a mature student, the paraprofessional has trade qualifications, and the others have no formal qualifications. Members of this group have been with their present government employer for considerable periods, all between 11 and 22 years, except for the most highly paid who has been the most mobile and has been in government service only seven years, and one female professional who returned to teaching nine years ago. They have been in their present jobs, however, a maximum of eight years and an average of four and a half years; this is partly due to movement within the government service, partly to promotion and partly to restructuring of jobs. All are union members, in the Public Service Association, the Tasmanian Teachers' Federation, the Federated Municipal Employees Union or the Australian Telecommunications Employees Association. All but one expressed satisfaction in their job situation; the exception expressed the view that pressures on time post CRESAP left the feeling that no job was being done to his entire satisfaction. Career prospects are good, as long as employees are prepared to be mobile, and policy within the state service is now promotion by merit not seniority; the merit principle, however, has not been in place long enough to evaluate its effects.

Of the five female part-time workers, all in community services, two would prefer full-time work but are unable to get it; one of these has only been in the state for two years, so was the victim of 'last in, first out', and the second had returned from maternity leave. Three of them work less than 15 hours a week, and had had their hours slightly reduced post CRESAP. One of the others works 20 hours per week permanent part-time in a group

jobsharing situation, involving a monthly rota of work in a nursing centre and home visiting, to the satisfaction of the whole group, none of whom for reasons varying with stage in family life cycle want full-time work. The remaining one works four days per week. One has a degree, two a diploma and two no formal qualifications, but qualifications or lack of them do not appear to be associated either with choice of part-time rather than full-time work, or with the amount of work undertaken. Two of those who work less than 15 hours per week do not belong to a union, and the others are members of the Australian Nurses Federation, the Health Services Union or the Tasmanian Teachers Federation. Beyond a general determination to make the best of a situation made up of family factors and labour market constraints and opportunities, the position of each of these five women is contingent on their individual place within each nexus. The theoretical debate on structure and agency comes down to earth in Spring Bay when female part-time work is addressed, and government employment adds to the range of situations discussed earlier in the private sector.

Both full-time and part-time employees found their current jobs by internal promotion or by applying for a move within the school system, and in the case of three of the part-timers, by 'word of mouth', hearing on the local grapevine that an opportunity would be available.

The restructuring which has taken place in the last five years in government service has taken several forms. The greater use of short and long term contracts is on a small scale compared with metropolitan areas as there is little scope for large scale cleaning and catering contracts, or for some of the consultancy projects now widely used in large urban-based departments. The Spring Bay Municipal Council has moved to broadbanding; two years ago it reduced the number of its outdoor employees, who had previously been in specific categories with limited scope, and upgraded those retained to the category of driver, within the occupational class of plant and machinery operator. This restructuring was not achieved by voluntary redundancy, but the reaction of the remaining work gang to a greater variety of jobs was positive, simply expressed by one interviewee as "Why should one guy get to drive the truck all day?'

Restructuring in the Education Department has taken three forms. Promotional positions have been reclassified, and concepts such as Senior Subject Master/Mistress have been replaced by a scale which is not tied to subjects but which can be allocated by an individual school to areas in which it needs extra competence. This gives more flexibility and autonomy within a structured and statewide hierarchy and possibilities of more flexible career paths. In addition, there has been an increase in the use of part-time teachers; some of this is simply fractional time appointments (permanent part-time) but particularly with those teaching younger children it has taken the form of tandem teaching, where two teachers share a class, one having a 40 per cent load and the other 60

per cent to give a stable environment for the children. This is said to have had three main effects. Full-time teachers may feel that they bear a greater share of the pastoral responsibility for students, and problems may arise over activities such as sports days, camps and excursions, so that the quality of other people's jobs is changed. The system provides more part-time employment for women in an area badly in need of such opportunities. It has also been adapted by a mixture of agreement and social pressure to share out existing jobs; in response to a query about how much choice she had had in accepting transfer from 80 per cent to 60 per cent, one teacher said that it made a 40 per cent job possible for a friend, and that in a small closed community you have to live with other people. There has also been flexibility within families: in the time since the survey, one interviewee has gone from full-time teaching to part-time, and the spouse has returned to part-time teaching. The third change has been the move towards self-managing schools, which has led to greater local accountability but also to a multi-functional role for principals.

The restructuring in the health services from full-time to part-time described above was principally a response to human resources available locally, but to some extent also represented responsibility for the Community Health Centres having been taken over from the Royal Hobart Hospital by the Department of Health, a recent reorganisation whose effects are still being felt, and which is typical of many similar reorganisation taking place in rural health care. It also incorporates the development of the Home and Community Care scheme, which some regard as providing back-up services for the sick and elderly being cared for in their own homes, and others as a less apparent part of the erosion of welfare provision by the state.

The state as an employer thus adds to the segmented nature of local employment, adds to possibilities of mobility of labour for those in the system who wish to leave the area, provides relatively secure employment for those who wish to remain, and is in an ambiguous position with regard to female part-time employment.

5.1.4 The unemployed

Of the 72 individuals in the sample who are in the labour force, four are unemployed. It eventuated that all four are in very individual circumstances, which it is impossible to discuss without violating the guarantee of confidentiality given, and about which it is virtually impossible to generalise. This is not perhaps as serious an omission as might first appear, as the major unemployment problem is youth unemployment, which for reasons given in Ch. 4 is considered outside the scope of this thesis. Other aspects of these four interviews, together with those with two invalid pensioners, are discussed in Ch. 6 where they can not be so easily identified. Table 5.8, however, shows that unemployment has increased in the time since the survey was made. Note that these figures, the only indicator available at this level, do not necessarily correspond with exact figures of

Table 5.8 Newstart and Job Search allowance recipients, Spring Bay municipality, March 1990 to September 1992

Quarter	Males	Females	Persons
March 1990	56	21	77
June 1990	63	24	87
September 1990	103	26	129
December 1990	91	28	119
March 1991	84	26	110
June 1991	73	31	104
September 1991*	97	41	138
December 1991*	103	37	140
March 1992	83	23	106
June 1992	85	25	110
Sept 1992	115	28	143

Source: Department of Employment, Industrial Relations and Training, Quarterly Labour Market Reports. * Data in columns for males and females reversed from the original after discussion with DEIRT's research officer.

unemployed, as married couples have a choice of two single or one double allowance, but they show growth of unemployment at a minimum level.

5.2 Not in the labour force

Twenty-eight of the sample were not in the labour force, being occupied with home duties, retired or invalid pensioners. Seventeen of these were classified as retired, either because they had retired from paid employment or because their spouse had retired and they were not employed or unemployed. Of those retired from paid employment, two females retired at 60 years and four retired early, two for health reasons, one for financial reasons and one for personal reasons; two males retired at 65 and three earlier for financial reasons. Six females 'retired' when their husbands reached retirement, and one widow became a pensioner on reaching 60 years. Nine of the group (including three associated with the major employer) were living in the area when they retired, five (one of whom owned a holiday home in the area) came to Spring Bay on retirement from elsewhere in Tasmania, and three came from elsewhere in Australia. Seven of those interviewed received the age pension, and ten had superannuation or investments. Those receiving the pension were therefore in the lower part of the range $7 300 to $17 700, below the average earnings for both males and females working full-time in Tasmania. Those with private means were principally in the range $17 000 to $24 000, but four of the females who appeared to be well provided for had no income of their own, the family financial resources being in their husbands' name. Only five of the retired group had retired within the last five years. Of these, three retired from APPM Triabunna, one from farming locally and one from the Public Service in Hobart, none of whom reflected early retirement. Interest in the retired group thus lies more in its generation of employment for others through the housing market, construction, retail trade and community services, and its impact on the culture of

the area than in its labour market experience, and these aspects are discussed in Ch. 6 under household strategies.

Nine of the sample are occupied with home duties. All are female, and all but one, who keeps house for her father, are married. Three have children under school age, two have children living at home and three have no children living at home, and members of the group are spread evenly through the age groups from 18 to 25 through to 46 to 55 years. The average age of ending formal education is 15.3 years, and none has any formal qualifications. Only one has had any further training, a traineeship in work associated with fast-food outlets. Much of their work experience before and after marriage has been in work of a casual nature, such as for local food processors, or in work associated with their partners' enterprises. Two said they would like paid employment when the children are older, but do not see much prospect locally, two are undecided, four do not intend to return to the workforce, and the only one who had suffered recent redundancy would like employment but is meanwhile happy at home. Three of the spouses were quoted as feeling strongly that it was a husband's job to provide for his wife and family. It is difficult to know how much of decisions about whether wives have paid employment or not is due to such values in the local culture and to wives wishing to be at home for the good of the children and husband, how much reflects lack or availability of employment opportunities and childcare facilities, and how much is a trade-off between the two in achieving a balance between ideologies of family life and the demands of consumerism. This is discussed further under household strategies in Ch. 6.

5.3 Informal activities in relation to labour market experience

Informal activities which are associated more or less directly with individual labour market experience are in the category of 'irregular, hidden, black, underground or cash', with the possibility of being unmeasured or only partially measured in relation to the National Accounts (see Fig. 2.18). Within the sub-category of linked and semi-autonomous informal activities, not all casual and seasonal work is declared for tax, and in some small businesses there are 'mates' rates' and cash deals which are off the books. There is also a tradition of 'foreign jobs', the name given to personal projects done with an employer's tools, time and possibly raw materials without his permission. In the sub-category of autonomous informal activities there is little evidence of 'moonlighting', having an undeclared second job, although one person interviewed discussed it openly. Several others who have combinations of casual jobs implied that they are more careful about declaring the ones which leave an audit trail. One or two people in small businesses find that direct barter is a way of keeping transactions out of the accounts and therefore out of tax liability; some of this barter is between goods provided by the business in return for services provided to the business.

It is impossible to 'measure the unmeasurable', nor is it possible to give any estimate of the prevalence of these activities beyond the fact that those who were prepared to discuss such things felt that the situation was about average for an Australian rural area. There were others who deplored it, and made their personal ethical position clear. The author, however, was left with the impression, and it can be no more than an informed impression, that other forms of informal activity, which will be discussed in Ch. 6, are more important in the Spring Bay area than those directly associated with the labour market.

5.4 Conclusion

The sample of labour market experience in Spring Bay reveals some discrete groups with marked and differing characteristics when viewed through the conventions of the ABS, which could be broadly interpreted as segments of the labour market. There are other people who fit uneasily into such groupings, and those who have changed labour market status or wish to. These are particularly the self-employed, a term that covers a variety of situations which are susceptible of various interpretations within current theories of a flexible workforce. One thread which was discernible throughout the interviewing was the widely held perception that 'it isn't what you know that matters but who you know' a perception partly at variance with current theories of the importance of skills. Behind this is not simply the idea of networks and grapevines, typified by the number of people who found their job by word of mouth; implicit in 'who you know' is their knowledge and approval of your character, lifestyle and culture. It appears, therefore, that ideology and mores, those intangibles which lie behind the more observable social characteristics labelled lifestyle, play a part in labour market experience at local levels as well as in more publicised ideas of the 'corporate man'.

One facet of this chapter has been the recurrence of the phrase 'below the Tasmanian average' in connection with earnings. It has been suggested that this is likely to occur because the average figures are derived from a survey of what businesses pay employees and do not include self-employed or employers. It is also apparent that 'below the Tasmanian average' should not be equated with a lifestyle below the average. Some of the individual earnings are the lesser part of the family income; some of the work situations have significant components such as telephones and vehicles which are tax deductible to the business and flow on to ordinary life; some work situations involve meals being provided in one way or another; and some of the lifestyles are richer in valued attributes than in material goods and services which demand a high monetary income. The next chapter therefore explores the wider setting of the sample. This covers three principal strands of household coping strategies: decisions about who should or can have paid employment, when, for what hours and for how long; decisions about who does what of the domestic activities which make up everyday life; and decisions about the

allocation of incomes to food and clothing, housing, education and leisure, and the methods of obtaining these. This gives additional evidence on the matter of why as well as how people live and work as they do.

CHAPTER 6 HOUSEHOLD STRATEGIES IN SPRING BAY

The majority of people do not live simply as individuals; they operate within a variety of ensembles and structures, such as family units, households, neighbourhoods and workplaces. Households are particularly important as the site of reproduction and also for certain processes of production. The reciprocal effects of household decisions and of local labour market characteristics are of interest as one of the basic links between agents and wider structures. This chapter makes use of the individual sample surveyed in Spring Bay to make some observations about the households in which those individuals live, and focuses on the nature of activities and relationships at household level and on the means by which households are surviving in the changing circumstances of the current crisis in capitalism.

6.1 The household data

The data set in relation to household strategies comprises 85 households pertaining to the 100 individuals interviewed. Because the majority of those interviewed at work (where the household questions were sometimes not appropriate, see Ch. 4) were male, the individuals who represent the entry point into these households are 44 per cent male and 56 per cent female. It should be stressed at this point that the nature of the data has changed. In Ch. 5, some claim was made for representativeness. In this chapter, no such claim is made; figures represent actual cases which are of interest because they exist in all their variety, and absolute numbers or percentages in the text are only information as to how many of any category appear in the data set, and how they are associated with other attributes.

Most of the types of household are self-explanatory (Table 6.1). However, in the light of what follows it is worth noting that of the single person households, two are male and five female. In the households consisting of married couples with no children, there are three situations: 18 have no children remaining at home and are 'empty nesters' in the popular phrase; three have no children; and five have no children of the present marriage, although each of the partners may have adult children living away from home. The 'other' category includes siblings living together, and boarders.

In contrast to other research areas, where the interactions of class, gender and ethnicity have been studied, there is very little ethnic variety in the Spring Bay sample. There were alleged to be no Tasmanian Aborigines remaining after the extinction policies of the nineteenth century, and the mixed community which sees its roots as Aboriginal is not represented in Spring Bay. In addition, Tasmania does not receive a proportional share of migrants, and Spring Bay appears to have attracted few other than of British origin. This removes one variable from the situation.

Table 6.1 Composition of the 1991 Spring Bay household data set

Nature of household	Number of households
Single person	7
Married couple, no children	26
Married couple with children NILF only, youngest under school age	11
Married couple with children NILF only, youngest primary school age	15
Married couple with children NILF only, youngest secondary school age	6
Married couple with children in LF and school age children	1
Married couple with children in LF	10
Single parent with children	2
Three generations	3
Other	4
Total	85

6.2 Employment decisions

Twenty-two households, the members of 18 of which are retired, have no-one in paid employment. Twenty-one households have a single income coming in from employment. These households are spread through most of the groups in Table 6.1, but the largest group (nine) are households with children, but not necessarily children under school age. With the exception of single person households, only two of these single income earners are female. Thirty-five households have two people with an income from employment, of which 33 are husband and wife. Fifteen of these households have two full-time jobs and twenty have one full-time and one part-time job. Of the latter group, only two of the part-time jobs are held by males. Of the households with husband and wife employed full-time, six have no children, and nine have children; eight of the households with children have at least one of the partners working in circumstances where either small children can be taken care of as part of the working situation or older children can be taken care of before or after school if necessary; this usually means a family enterprise of some sort. This is indicative of the importance of what might be termed 'family territory' in employment decisions. Eight households have either three or four earners, some all full-timers and some two male full-timers and one female part-timer. Four of this group involve family farm households but in only two are all the jobs on the farm. Four of the group are involved in two enterprises and two in three quite separate fields of work. In 41 of the total households husband and wife both have paid employment; in two cases they are employed at the same place of work, in nine they work together in the family business, and in a further seven, both are partners in the family business, although one of the partners has paid employment outside of it.

The marked gender differences in relation to paid employment, with both vertical and horizontal segregation of jobs and many casual female jobs are both the visible result and possibly also the cause of decisions as to whether wives have jobs outside the home. The demands of shift work, the availability of jobs, the need for labour in family firms in recession and the need to subsidise family farms by pluriactivity are all current factors in decision making. Economic needs in relation to desired lifestyle, home purchase and education, personal needs to use skills outside the home and husband's opinions on 'working women' are further factors important in some cases. Views on the vexed question of married women with husbands in employment 'taking jobs from teenagers', and of the need for and satisfaction to be derived from voluntary community work were discussed by a minority of respondents, and an employer spoke of the problems faced in choosing between social and business considerations in filling a vacancy with a teenager or a married woman 'especially in a small town like this'.

One important factor in decisions about employment is the household's housing situation. In almost half of the households, the home is owned outright; this extends right across the community, seemingly regardless of age and income. Thirty-three per cent are buying their own home through a mortgage, some of them through the Tasmanian Development Authority. Fifteen per cent rent accommodation, one third of them from their employer, and one third from Housing Tasmania (i.e. public housing). Compared with the state average, where 39 per cent of homes are owned and 33 per cent being purchased, this is an abnormally high proportion of outright home ownership which reflects three factors: one is retirees building new homes for their retirement out of their superannuation; the second is the stock of low cost housing in Triabunna and Buckland; in Orford such housing is more likely to have been bought for holiday homes. A group of weatherboard houses came on the market in Buckland for $6 000 each when the saw-mill closed in 1981, and in Triabunna it is still possible to buy a house for around $30 000 at a time when the cost of a comparable three bedroom house in Hobart is $87 000. The third factor was the decision of the Housing Commission, as Housing Tasmania then was, to sell public housing to tenants who wished to buy their homes and many Triabunna residents took up the offer. There is little evidence of the situation found by Pratt and Hanson in their urban study (Pratt 1991) of the importance of family links and help in housing; indeed the availability of low cost housing has led to Year 11 students being able to afford to live in a group house out of the Austudy grant, and to move out from the family home. Where family help does appear important is in providing additional labour and skills for the ongoing renovation of old housing stock as funds become available. This trend does not show in the data because of the time scale, but was evident in discussion.

The spatial dimension in employment decisions is also important. Seventeen households have employed members whose work takes them out of the Spring Bay area. In two of these, both husband and wife work in Hobart, involving an 120 km daily round trip. Four

other males without children have work outside of the area. Eleven other households, involved in transport, forestry, construction or maritime activities, have to take into consideration long periods away from home in planning other household employment, which necessarily puts constraints on opportunities.

The decision on how long to work or to go on looking for work is obviously difficult. In particular, offers of redundancy packages and early retirement make for agonising choices. A year after accepting such an offer, one family is still not sure whether they made the right decision. Implicit in the difficulty of choice is the concern that if there are not sufficient volunteers, there will be involuntary redundancies, and if, as one worker put it, 'you get tapped on the shoulder', the difference between severance pay and the rejected redundancy package can be considerable. Decisions about how long a wife should keep her job before starting a family were discussed in retrospect by families who had undergone the trauma of going from two incomes to one, and for many are complicated by no assurance that a relinquished job will be available when they wish to rejoin the labour force. The provision of maternity leave and job security is a major advantage of state employment, and their lack is a major drawback of the many casual female jobs. How long to keep looking for work and where to look is another decision which is not always recognised. In an area with high unemployment, job search can be something of a formality, or it can result in moving out of the area. Several of the younger people selected in the initial sample proved to have left the area; 'he's living with his married sister in North Hobart so he can get to interviews' was a typical reply, and there was a general feeling that job applications from rural addresses are disregarded. One older man said that he is tempted to give up looking for a job and live on his savings until he qualifies for the age pension; however, he is not prepared to help improve the unemployment statistics by doing so, as he <u>does</u> want a job, and feels that people should be aware of the true picture. He thought there must be many in his situation since he had been interviewed by the Department of Social Security about how he managed - 'questions very like you are asking about growing your own vegetables and how you shop'. Although there were only four unemployed in the individual sample, there were more in the total household population, and it is thus possible to make some generalisations without breaching confidentiality. Some, although dispirited, are sure that a permanent job will turn up, and they regularly go the rounds of the CES and local firms. Others accept that they may only get odd jobs and settle for that, budgeting for life on social security payments and declaring the income from temporary employment, or most of it. Other unemployed persons said that they are discriminated against in not being offered casual employment because of an alternative lifestyle, but that they do not allow it to worry them as there are obviously not sufficient jobs to go round and they are quite prepared to live 'on the dole' and do as much for themselves as possible.

These employment decisions are a crucial part of household strategies but are integrated into other decisions on the allocation of labour and resources.

6.3 The running of the household

When the interview schedule was compiled, it had been the intention to use Pahl's (1984) questions about gender division of domestic labour and commodification of household tasks in the way that was done in Warde (1990). It became apparent both before and during trialling that differences between British and Tasmanian lifestyles made this inappropriate. This was particularly apparent over wood heaters, dirt roads, dishwashers, barbecues, number and type of cars, tank water supply and its effect on growing vegetables and using washing machines, and the current extension of a sewerage line. The data therefore is not aimed at comparison but at describing the situation at the present time, which may perhaps provide a base for future comparison. In this part of the interviewing, the advantages of guided conversation became apparent; issues which had seemed likely to cause problems disappeared. In particular, the definition of 'household' which in extensive data may present problems, ceased to be an issue in an empirical situation of such a detailed nature, as the constitution of a household is self-evident. Very few situations arose where the extent of a household was in doubt, and they were mainly in young households in relation to the status of boarders, lodgers and other non-related adults. Doubts about whether power relations in the household would emerge receded as the apparently harmless questions elicited quite surprisingly revealing answers. There were few problems either about what constituted 'normal'; at a commonsense level this was easily talked out, and there was general agreement that, for example, 'growing your own vegetables' did not mean 100 per cent but a substantial amount which would be of importance in running the household. Similarly, knitting and sewing was taken to mean a substantial amount, usually of female and children's clothes, and not simply a hobby activity or knitting for grandchildren.

In Tables 6.2 to 6.5, the category 'both male and female' covers several situations: a clearly delineated division of labour such as 'I load the dishwasher and he empties it' in washing up or 'I do the outsides and she does the insides' in window cleaning; doing it together, as in going out for a day's fishing; doing their own, as in washing cars; and sometimes one and sometimes the other, with different degrees of organisation, and of whether it is an issue or not - 'whoever's home first starts on the tea'. Both therefore does not necessarily imply equal division, but it does imply sharing.

In all four tables, the category 'not applicable' may also mean several things, some of which are illustrative of the contingencies of local living. It covers people who for a variety of reasons do not eat cake, jam, eggs, fish or normal bread, whose children use the

school bus, who are not responsible for the maintenance of rented property, or who simply say that they never clean their windows. It also includes those who have 'marsupial lawns' - 'I cut it once in spring and the wallabies keep it down' - or who say 'what lawn? I have three cows (or six sheep) to keep the grass round the house down'. Only three households do not have a car but the term also takes in those who live on a dirt road and laugh at the idea of car cleaning. The houses rented from Housing Tasmania are all electric, with a special rate from the Hydro Electric Commission, so firewood provision is not applicable to those tenants. In the last three columns related to home improvements in Table 6.5, not applicable refers specifically to those who had not made such improvements in the last five years.

A final introductory observation should be made. The interviewer was very aware of the danger of making any assumptions in this section of the schedule. Not only did appearances or ages give no indication of how domestic and other tasks were allocated, but in a series of answers conforming to a pattern, anomalies would occur; further questioning usually showed that there was a good reason for the break in the pattern, and served to emphasise how these patterns are individually tailored to a group of people and their circumstances.

6.3.1 Routine domestic tasks

Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show the details of everyday activities in running the household. The lack of participation of sons and daughters living in the household reflects more the relatively few households with children of an age to participate than evidence to add to the recent Australian survey which showed how little household work is done by the second generation (ABS 1991**). Of the ten categories of domestic tasks in Table 6.2, all are done mainly by labour from within the household; commodification is negligible. Although there is little evidence of bought household help in the survey data which has been coded to form these tables, there were references in interviews to home cleaning as casual jobs. None of those interviewed have Meals on Wheels or receive household help from the Home and Community Care scheme; it was probably a result of the influenza epidemic that those in need of these facilities were among the 'too ill' group of responses. Of the eight categories relating to care of children in Table 6.3, where the number of households involved is small, labour outside the household is important only in commercial haircutting, and in caring for sick children and other forms of day care for children under school age where other family, mainly grandparents and married sisters, feature.

The gender division of both of these sets of tasks is marked. (It should be noted that there are four households without a senior female.) Tables 6.2b and 6.3b show the percentage of households in which the various tasks are done by labour within the household, and the percentage of those households in which the tasks are done by males, females or both; the

Table 6.2a	Washing up	Vacuuming	Cleaning windows	Cooking meals	BBQ	Cutting lunch	Getting take-aways	Shopping	Laundry	Ironing
Senior male in household	7	12	12	6	46	10	12	8	7	4
Senior female in household	42	67	58	68	7	41	12	55	72	76
Son/s in household	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Daughter/s in household	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
Male and son/s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Female and daughter/s	8	4	4	5	-	2	1	4	5	4
Both male and female	34	11	15	13	7	6	8	26	9	5
Other family combinations	5	1	1	5	-	1	2	2	-	-
Family outside household	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	4	-
Friends/community	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bought at normal price	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Bought at males rates	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Barter	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Labour of employee/s	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	1
Not applicable	-	-	6	-	39	39	62	-	-	6
Total within household	97	96	96	97	100	98	100	98	94	98
Total*	99	100	100	100	99	100	99	98	100	99
Table 6.2b										
Male	7	14	13	6	77	17	35	9	7	4
Female	52	74	69	75	12	72	38	61	83	90
Both	35	11	17	13	12	10	22	27	10	5
Other family combinations	5	1	1	5	-	2	5	2	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Spring Bay survey 1991 *Total may not be 100% due to rounding errors

Table 6.2a Method of dealing with everyday household tasks, in percentages of households

Table 6.2b Proportion of the total within household, by gender

Table 6.3a Methods of childcare, in percentages of households

Table 6.3b Proportion of the total within household, by gender

Table 6.3a	Usual form of daycare of children under school age	Other form of daycare of children under school age	Taking children to school	Taking children to sport	Parent-teacher interviews	Caring for sick children	Cutting children's hair	Bathing children
Senior male in household	1	4	3	5	1	1	-	-
Senior female in household	13	-	11	11	22	31	14	7
Son/s in household	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Daughter/s in household	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Male and son/s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Female and daughter/s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Both male and female	-	-	3	6	10	1	-	9
Other family combinations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Family outside household	2	6	1	-	-	3	4	-
Friends/community	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Bought at normal price	-	2	-	-	-	1	21	-
Bought at mates rates	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Labour of employee/s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not applicable	84	87	82	78	67	61	62	84
% Total within household	86	33	94	100	100	87	36	100
Total*	100	99	194	200	200	186	137	200
Table 6.3b								
Male	7	100	18	23	3	3	-	-
Female	93	-	65	50	67	94	100	44
Both	-	-	18	27	30	3	-	56
Other family combinations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Spring Bay survey 1991 *Total may not be 100% due to rounding errors

other family combinations are usually both genders, such as father and daughter, but may be complicated by, for example, grandchildren, or siblings with no parents. Table 6.2b shows that females undertake the majority of the everyday household tasks. Males predominate only in barbecue meals, which are, however, important at weekends, holiday time and in fine weather in general. In shopping, buying take-away food, washing up and cleaning windows, the tasks appear to be more evenly spread between the genders and the proportion in the 'both' category is greater. Other tasks such as vacuuming, laundry, ironing and cooking appear to be much more dominated by women, and there is little evidence of these tasks being shared. The proportion of households in which the senior male makes sandwiches for cut lunches (the Australian phrase for packed lunches) is due to a strategy of families with young children who have to be got ready for school or childcare in the morning; the female deals with the children and the male with the cut lunch. This provides an example of a situation in which traditional gender roles have been abandoned by these families in favour of a more relevant strategy. A similar situation is apparent in childcare (Table 6.3): females are predominant in caring for children under school age and for sick children, and to a less extent in taking children to school and sport, and going to parent-teacher interviews, while there is a only a limited amount of sharing of these activities. The data were inspected to see whether there was any evidence of differences between age groups; the only pattern which emerged was an increase in the 'both' category in the over 65 age group. One respondent, however, observed that she sees a big increase over the ten years between her two children in what the group she meets at clinics etc expects their male partners to do in helping with the children. Nevertheless, if the 12 households in which there is not both a male and a female are discounted, a much more gendered picture emerges, with much less male participation in everyday household tasks, except in the retired age group. Table 6.6 indicates some of the evidence for this.

6.3.2 Self-provisioning and DIY

Possibly the most important aspect of the so-called informal economy in Spring Bay is the provision of both goods and services outside the paid economy; the majority of this is legal, and much is within the household. Table 6.4 indicates the variety of methods by which the 85 households surveyed obtain selected goods, and Table 6.5 selected services. The degree of commodification varies: almost nine-tenths of households buy bread; two-thirds pay for engine tuning; almost half have windows replaced professionally (because of the size of modern windows and insurance carried) and buy eggs commercially; just over a third buy preserves; about a fifth employ a professional painter; less than a tenth buy cakes or fish; and hardly any households pay for car washing or lawn mowing. Other methods outside the household are not very significant. Family members outside the household, usually mother or mother-in-law, are a source of cakes and preserves, which reflects differences in time available, skills and traditions between generations. More

than a quarter of households have fish provided by friends and neighbours, and this applies to a lesser extent to firewood and eggs. In respondents' views, these are gifts, not barter, but would in most cases be repaid by 'reciprocal favours' - a phrase used by a respondent, of which fruit, vegetables, fish and lifts (transport) were specified. Informal arrangements of the 'I give him vegies and he gives us fish' nature are obviously common, but are not seen as barter. Formal barter featured very little in the interviews, although some unemployed observed that if they were paid in kind it did not have to be declared as a deduction from their social security payments. There was no evidence of formalised arrangements such as a baby-sitting pool, or a 'gum nut economy', where barter is organised through a central clearing house, with credits accumulated, such as is found in, for example, areas south of Hobart.

In self-provisioning and DIY, a much more nuanced gender division is apparent. Some of this is undoubtedly due to variations in physical strength, skills (especially with tools and engines) and traditional perceptions of male and female jobs, but there also appears to be an element of hobby/leisure/enjoyment in people's strategies. Individual males bake cakes or bread, individual females fish or tinker with cars - because they like it. At an overall level, attitudes to 'spare time' activities appear important. One retired couple who aim to be as self-sufficient as possible quoted Vietnamese friends who said of self-provisioning activities 'that's not work, that's living'. Many of those interviewed would endorse that view and take pride in their degree of self-sufficiency; it is an advantage if your taste in leisure activities contributes to that self-sufficiency as well as to relaxation and enjoyment.

Table 6.4a shows that the senior male in the household makes significant contributions other than his earned income: in more than half the households the senior male collects the firewood, in about a quarter provides fish and vegetables, and in almost a fifth contributes to the meat supply by raising animals or shooting rabbit, wallaby, deer and duck. The senior female bakes cakes, makes preserves and does appreciable amounts of knitting and sewing in proportions of households varying from one fifth to three-fifths. Working together, the senior male and female provide vegetables in an additional fifth of households, and also make some contribution to the provision of meat, fish, eggs and firewood. Undoubtedly the size of the holding is important; the majority of houses visited during interviewing had a garden or surrounding land sufficient for keeping poultry and growing vegetables, although some had not sufficient water for vegetables. Several people apart from farmers indicated that they owned extra land. The character of the area with access to fishing as well as to bushland for firewood and shooting adds to the potential for self-provisioning.

Table 6.5a shows the proportion of households which are to some degree self-servicing. Again the senior male on his own contributes labour and skills in a significant proportion of

Table 6.4a Self provisioning, in percentages of households

Table 6.4b Proportion of the total within household, by gender

Table 6.4a	Cakes	Vegetables	Preserves	Bread	Beer	Meat	Fish	Eggs	Firewood	Knitting	Sewing
Senior male in household	5	27	1	2	12	18	25	6	55	-	-
Senior female in household	60	4	45	5	-	1	-	12	1	28	21
Son/s in household	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1	-	-
Daughter/s in household	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Male and son/s	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-
Female and daughter/s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Both male and female	1	20	6	-	-	4	7	11	6	-	-
Other family combinations	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	-	2	-	-
Family outside household	7	2	6	-	-	-	12	4	1	-	-
Friends/community	-	1	1	-	-	-	27	7	5	-	-
Bought at normal price	6	44	36	89	72	77	8	49	15	72	79
Bought at mates rates	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	2	-	-
Barter	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	2	1	-	-
Labour of employee/s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Not applicable	20		5	2	16	-	7	1	5	-	-
Total within household	83	53	54	7	14	23	47	29	73	28	21
Total*	100	100	101	99	100	100	99	100	99	100	100
Table 6.4b											
Male	8	53	2	29	100	78	72	21	87	-	-
Female	91	8	87	71	-	4	-	41	1	100	100
Both	2	38	12	-	-	17	16	38	9	-	-
Other family combinations	-	2	-	-	-	-	12	-	3	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Spring Bay survey 1991 *Total may not be 100% due to rounding errors

Table 6.5a	Washing car	Tuning engine	Changing plugs	Taking car for service	Painting	Repairing broken window	Household accounts	Mowing lawn	Garage or carport	Plumbing	Home extension
Senior male in household	35	25	63	24	33	31	21	44	12	18	20
Senior female in household	17	-	2	33	6	4	48	15	-	-	-
Son/s in household	1	1	2	-	2	1	-	4	-	1	-
Daughter/s in household	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Male and son/s	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	4	-	-	-
Female and daughter/s	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Both male and female	19	-	-	10	22	1	29	19	1	1	2
Other family combinations	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	2	4
Family outside household	1	2	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-	-
Friends/community	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
Bought at normal price	2	66	30	-	19	47	-	1	9	39	11
Bought at males rates	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	1	-
Barter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Labour of employee/s	5	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	1
Not applicable	15	5	2	30	7	11	-	7	75	38	61
Total within household	90	27	69	98	71	42	99	96	63	35	68
Total*	99	100	99	99	99	101	99	100	99	101	99
Table 6.5b											
Male	49	100	97	35	55	87	21	58	80	86	77
Female	25	-	3	49	9	11	49	20	-	-	-
Both	25	-	-	15	34	3	30	21	7	5	8
Other family combinations	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	13	9	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Spring Bay survey 1991 *Total may not be 100% due to rounding errors

Table 6.5a Methods of repair, maintenance and improvement of buildings and vehicles, in percentages of households

Table 6.5b Proportion of the total within household, by gender

households, varying from around a fifth, for the specific home improvements asked about, to three-fifths for changing spark plugs, with the average being just under a third. The senior female on her own is less involved, the major contribution being the household accounts. In about a fifth of households, both male and female share car washing, accounts, lawn mowing and painting. This overall lower participation appears to reflect two things: although the required skills for such services are widespread in a community like Spring Bay, they are not universal; and several of the retired respondents commented that they used to do such things 'but now I'm not allowed up a ladder'. These factors also apply to self-provisioning, witness for example the young female who says she is 'strictly a can and box cook' and the elderly male who has taken over the laundry because of his wife's arthritis, which also has curtailed her knitting. The nature of the senior male's paid employment is also a factor; shift work gives free time at different times of day, which can be useful in winter for renovation jobs, while one self-employed tradesman observed that there was only on average 30 hours work a week for him, so he used the rest for gardening and poultry rearing.

If the 12 households without both male and female are discounted, the picture obtained from looking at everyday household tasks is both reinforced and modified (see Table 6.6). In such households where there is a choice, the gender division is marked, but there appear to be tasks which are perceived as male or female, and a group in which sharing is more common; in the retired age group, where there is little complication with the variable demands of paid employment, there is more sharing of tasks and more evidence of couples reaching necessary accommodations not based on gender. On the whole there is little evidence that men in combined households are turning for example to cooking although they may take a share; nor do women in similar situations change spark plugs or go out with the chain saw, and are less likely to lend a hand with these tasks. In households where the choice is between doing it yourself or finding someone outside the household to do it and probably having to pay for it, there is more probability of men deciding to tackle women's jobs and vice versa.

6.3.3 The relation of household tasks and DIY to labour market participation

The relationship between labour market participation and other 'somewhat economic' activities is problematic. It is often assumed that it is related to the position in the labour force or not of the female in the household, but the data in Tables 6.4 and 6.5 suggest that other factors must be operating on the male side. Table 6.6 also shows the gender proportion of a selected group of tasks for households with a male and female, further divided into households where the female has full-time employment, part-time employment no paid employment or is retired. Any conclusions must be tentative, partly because of small numbers at this level. In some tasks which are female dominated, such as washing up or laundry, the proportion done by females decreases from situations where the senior female is not in employment, to part-time employment and again to full-time

Table 6.6 Selected tasks, by gender and labour force status of the senior female in the household

		Labour force status of senior female						Labour force status of senior female						Labour force status of senior female			
		NILF	PT	FT	Ret			NILF	PT	FT	Ret			NILF	PT	FT	Ret
#N=		15	21	21	16			15	21	21	16			15	21	21	16
Task		•	•	•	•	Task		•	•	•	•	Task		•	•	•	•
Washing up	f	67	57	43	32	Painting	f	7	5	-	13	Collecting	f	-	-	-	-
	m	-	-	-	19		m	26	43	33	38	firewood	m	73	72	60	73
	b	27	43	38	44		b	20	33	24	19		b	13	-	5	13
Vacuuming	f	73	72	81	69	Lawn	f	14	29	10	19	Plumbing	f	-	-	14	-
	m	7	5	5	-	mowing	m	47	43	53	69		m	13	19	-	25
	b	20	24	5	25		b	27	29	14	13		b	-	5	-	-
Cooking	f	73	91	63	94	Shopping	f	53	72	81	38	Changing	f	-	-	-	7
meals	m	-	-	-	-		m	-	5	-	19	spark plug:	m	73	76	67	60
	b	20	10	19	6		b	47	24	10	44		b	-	-	-	-
Laundry	f	93	86	77	75	Parent-teacher	f	35	33	29	-	Fishing	f	-	-	-	-
	m	-	-	-	19	interviews	m	-	-	-	-		m	33	34	34	20
	b	7	14	14	6		b	14	10	14	-		b	13	5	14	-

Source: Spring Bay survey 1991

12 households omitted because male and female not both present

* % of group - does not necessarily add up to 100% because of bought goods and services, and not applicable circumstances

f = all work done by females, including daughters

m = all work done by males including sons

employment and the proportion of the tasks done by both increases. In other female dominated tasks, such as cooking meals, while there is an increase in the female proportion in part-time situations, the proportion decreases in full-time situations. In other tasks, such as shopping and vacuuming, the full-time figures are higher than for those not in the labour force. In the male dominated jobs there is slight evidence of less being done in the household with increased female labour force participation, which may reflect the influence of more money available. In general, however, these patterns are tenuous, and possible reasons for them even more so. There are at least three possible reasons for the odd increases in proportion of household tasks done by females in full-time employment. One is if the full-time status is against the wishes of the male of the household, who refuses to give extra help; a second is the nature of some of the full-time jobs, where housework and employment can be integrated, particularly in family businesses; and a third is the management skills of the females who undertake full-time employment.

6.4 Voluntary activities

A further aspect of informal activities is voluntary work; this is a sphere associated in popular conception with rural areas, perhaps because facilities such as the Rural Fire Service, which commands media attention during the bushfire season, are manned by volunteers. A scrutiny of local notice boards would reinforce this perception of the importance of voluntary activities, but the survey found that the adults of almost half of the households do not belong to any community group. Eight more households are only involved in adult sports clubs. No voluntary group received more than seven mentions, the largest being the various school and college parent-teacher associations put together, and the majority was four or less. The provision of community facilities forms an important area of interest through the Rural Fire Brigade, ambulance driving, the Red Cross, St. John's Ambulance Society, Meals on Wheels, and the local Hall committees. More specific provision of facilities for the younger members of the community is undertaken by the Playgroup Committee, the Child Care Centre Committee, Scouts and Brownies, and a variety of junior sports clubs and mini-leagues. Several groups exist to raise funds for charities by various means and these include the Caring Club, the Hash Harriers, the Church Guild and the Tuesday Girls. The Rotary Club featured in several interviews in the form of 'I used to be in Rotary but I had to give it away'. A current office holder of Rotary, also interviewed, explained that numbers have dropped in recent years because of the expense and time commitment which was proving too much in the present economic climate, especially for men in small businesses.

The amount of involvement in voluntary activities therefore does not accord with popular belief. Indeed, several people said that retirement meant that they had retired from such commitments. That is not to say that some individuals at all age levels are not heavily

committed, or that voluntary activity is of negligible importance. What appears to be of more importance is individual networks of friends and neighbours, and the *ad hoc* community response to individual misfortunes such as house fires.

What are termed solidary activities, the caring for aged, invalid or handicapped household or family members, often in circumstances which have little element of choice in them, are considered by some to be part of domestic activities and by others to be extraordinary domestic activities, rather than voluntary work. There was evidence of solidary activities in some sectors of the community, but because of the individual nature of cases, the only general statement possible is that they appeared to be a female responsibility.

6.5 Perceptions of coping strategies

The allocation of incomes to food and clothing, housing, education and leisure, and the methods of obtaining these all come together in answers to the final questions on the interview schedule, in association with previous findings (Many people say that times are difficult, money doesn't buy what it used to and people have their own ways of managing. How do you 'get by'? Has it changed in the last five years?). The reporting of this can not be quantitative, as the questions are open-ended, but certain strands emerge clearly. They emerged in two ways: some people's response to the questions was to discuss their philosophy of living; others homed in on specific strategies of survival. In practice they are difficult to separate, and are discussed together.

Three groups of households became apparent as interviewing proceeded. The members of one group said that they have no problems. Without exception they have no non-earning children: some are 'empty nesters' without debts, whose income matches their lifestyle; several are living on their own, again with incomes adequate for their single lifestyles; and probably the most prosperous of this group are households with adult employed children living at home. Several of this first group said that they think wages have kept up with inflation. The second group said that they do not cope. Some of these are on low incomes or pensions, some with children and some without, and some paying rent and some not, some employed and some not. However, despite their admission of difficulties, it was apparent that they were coping, through a variety of strategies of 'living from cheque to cheque', 'something always turns up in the way of odd jobs' and recognising the necessity of paying the accounts first, or at least of paying something off some of the accounts each month. (It is interesting that since the survey was completed, the Hydro Electric Commission has taken an initiative to help people in this situation to spread their payments out.) All of this marginal group spoke of the things they could not afford, but this was not unique to this group and is discussed later under buying strategies. It is notable, however, that the majority of this group spoke of odd jobs and doing without

rather than of self-provisioning. This ties in with the view expressed in the literature that the people who need self-provisioning most do not have the skills or the tools necessary to do it.

The third group, the majority, recognised that their personal and household situations have worsened in the last five years, and spoke of their ways of adjusting to different circumstances. This included some very prosperous households, the members of which nevertheless were making adjustments. People differentiated between factors over which they had control and those where they felt at the mercy of remote decisions and processes. The decision to have a family and face in some cases a number of years with one income instead of the two to which they had become accustomed, or the decision to accept redundancy with consequent financial changes come into the first category; cuts in income through changes in wool marketing and falling prices, becoming unemployed or having to accept an invalid pension, changes in interest rates and fuel prices, government rationalisation and the effects of uncertainty and industrial action at the major employer come into the second category. Not all of these changes are the result of restructuring; some are simply the progression of households through the cycle of family life, but their total impact within the locality is also important, where for example, the inevitable decision to retire, early or not, is tied to general prosperity in the area, prices in local shops and the price of petrol, the chances of picking up a few odd jobs in the interim until pension age, and the state of the local housing market. For one couple, this decision involved selling a house in Triabunna and buying one in Orford, based on a shrewd assessment of what might happen to house prices in Triabunna if conditions at the woodchip mill worsened. Some others in the farming community face the situation that they may own land worth a million dollars or more but have immediate cash flow problems in the current rural recession; others are drawing on the income from past investments in boom years to keep properties going, and paradoxically are being hit by the recent fall in interest rates which others welcome. More desperate farmers and small business people have considered selling and moving elsewhere, but there is little chance of a sale in present conditions, and they are simply 'hanging on'.

6.5.1 Buying strategies

The specific shopping strategies that were mentioned were treated as facts of life, that 'you couldn't get by without careful planning and budgeting', 'chasing the specials', buying plain brands and shopping at discount warehouses such as No Frills. It was apparent that this was a spatial strategy, and both men and women had weighed up the comparative advantages of local shopping with some higher prices and less choice but no petrol costs, and a weekly or fortnightly foray to the new regional shopping centre at Sorell built round a supermarket of the Woolworth's chain, to the Eastern Shore of Hobart with a choice of Woolworth's or Coles-Myer, or to Hobart itself with greater choice. Visiting family, medical specialist appointments and leisure activities such as tenpin bowling are counted

in the equation, and more than one household makes use of daughters in Hobart to buy 'specials' to be picked up on the next visit. One of the publicans referred to the effect on business of local people with a truck or a utility who had business in Hobart bringing back cases of cut-price beer during a recent price war, not only for themselves but for friends. Other considerations are loyalty, particularly of the local business community to its other members, and the feeling that it is unrealistic to expect there to be employment opportunities for local school-leavers in local shops and other businesses if the community does not support them. Many people, however, feel this ethical consideration is a luxury they cannot afford. There is a great deal of traditional housekeeping: few or no tins or bought frozen goods, no bought biscuits, and all soup homemade were specifically mentioned as strategies in relation to careful management and the provision of 'good plain food'. The purchase of meat by those who do not have their own supplies is an important consideration. Many households make use of freezers in conjunction with bulk buying of meat, either at a supermarket or from a local registered farmer. Others have reduced the number of occasions that the family eats meat in a week. All of these strategies, particularly taken in association with self-provisioning and self-servicing, have implications for local small businesses and also for those who have little or no choice about where they shop. Some small business owners spoke of the advantage of 'doing everything through the business'. Several women commented on the fact that you needed fewer clothes, that casual clothes were sufficient and that there was no call for 'designer dresses'.

A substantial number of people made it clear that they do not buy on credit. Some said that they refuse to have any plastic cards, others that they do not buy by hire-purchase, and others that if they can not pay cash they do without, and thus have not been caught by what one interviewee called the credit trap - the amount required to service accumulated debts with the rise in interest rates over the last ten years.

6.5.2 Employment strategies

Several families implied that the wife is only employed for financial reasons, although there are many more who have paid employment for other reasons. People referred to doing more themselves of necessity in family businesses, of putting off workers or not replacing ones who leave. Others talked about 'one or two odd cash jobs on the side', taking in a boarder, doing occasional paid babysitting or undertakings such as party plan selling or delivering and collecting census forms. The nature of local society puts constraints on the amount of such activities available.

6.5.3 Priorities

Earlier in this chapter, mention was made of the high proportion of home ownership. In discussing how they coped several people spoke of the priority which they put or have put in the recent past on paying off mortgages. In addition people who have

accommodation which goes with the job made it clear that they own houses in the Spring Bay area and elsewhere from which they currently receive rental income. Redundancy payments have been used to pay off mortgages, to buy a new family home or for investment in rental property. Some retirees moving into the area have made it a priority to build an easily run and maintained home to keep future costs down.

The other evident priority is education. There are three schools in the Spring Bay municipality, primary schools at Orford and Levendale, and a district school at Triabunna with regular classes from kindergarten to Grade 10, and a limited range of Higher School Certificate subjects offered in Grade 11. Students wishing to do a full Higher School Certificate course go to one of the three government matriculation colleges in Hobart, and find private board or become weekly boarders at the matriculation hostel, or go to one of the non-government schools, either as boarders or in private board. Those wishing to complete a full-time TAFE course must also go to Hobart or Launceston. In addition there are families who, for educational, social or religious reasons or family tradition, send their children to school in Hobart or Launceston from Year 7, the beginning of high school. The costs of living away from home, of transport and possibly of fees and uniform are considerable and some respondents discussed ways in which extra income is found. These included non-employed wives finding jobs and some cases of running a second home in Hobart. Older students are eligible for financial help under the Austudy scheme, but there are difficulties in this for members of the farming community who have assets but little income at the present. Human capital theory suggests that this investment of household resources in education is aimed at better prospects in employment. Evidence in Ch. 5 would qualify that to better prospects locally in certain segments such as state employment or with the upper strata of the principal employer. There is conflicting evidence that it is possible to be prosperous in the area without formal qualifications, and it is probable that considerations of the type of occupation and job satisfaction are as important as salaries. The recent legislation, however, by which employers of a certain size must allocate one per cent of profits to training, may have long term effects in this sphere, although there is evidence of people benefitting from previous studentships and cadetships to obtain entry into internal labour markets.

Households which are giving priority to housing and education are likely to be doing it at the expense of other expenditure. There was considerable comment, but not just from those giving priority to housing and education, about the luxuries which they did without and the fact that they simply shopped less often and bought less. Most commonly mentioned were holidays, entertainment and eating out, with one family man saying he had even given up Friday night at the pub! These economies are particularly relevant to the viability of and employment at local restaurants, hotels, bars and pubs, and one publican itemised the short term effect of the dispute at the chipmill in terms of the reduction in the number of drinks well-known customers had in an evening.

6.5.4 Perceived importance of total lifestyle

Implicit in much of the foregoing is the economic importance of total lifestyle. This was a term which came from the interviewees not the interviewer, and was often accompanied by adjectives such as frugal, prudent, modest or thrifty. Phrases such as 'live carefully within our means', 'live simply', 'always been good managers', 'not wasteful', 'money isn't everything', and 'we don't smoke and seldom drink' were commonly used. One ironic respondent said 'We're not materialist - we don't have a video' and another emphasised that they spend money on the things which matter to them, books and a horse for their daughter. Other households, perhaps modest from the exterior, display the whole range of consumer durables in the form of kitchen whitegoods, audiovisual systems, garden equipment, vehicles and boats. Attitudes to credit vary, from households and businesses requiring a substantial proportion of income to service loans, through business philosophies such as 'don't borrow more than 30 per cent of your total real capital assets', to those with no debts at all on house, vehicles and business equipment. Attitudes to work and employment also vary, from 'Well, it pays the bills' to 'I have to admit it's my hobby and chief interest as well as my job'.

There was, too, comment about family participation, phrases occurring such as 'working together as a family', 'all feel an obligation to pull our weight' and 'prepared to put in effort to achieve our goals'. Not everyone was as articulate, but some circumstances spoke for themselves; and as one family operating a very complex schedule to allow for the needs of all members put it 'You have to do what has to be done'. Patriarchy undoubtedly did exist within families and businesses, and some of it was overt. One respondent stated that he paid his wife an allowance to look after him, separate from the housekeeping allowance, and there were other indications of where the power lay. Whether spouses knew each other's incomes, phrases such as 'my husband won't let me ...', and above all the use or not of the word 'we' were all indicative of power roles, and sharing or lack of it. It was also apparent that not all patriarchal situations, whether in the household, in family businesses and in employment were gender situations; not all were resented by the females and it was clear that younger males in some circumstances were resentful. However, despite the fact that employment in the area is male dominated and that both vertical and horizontal segregation of labour occurs, there were many instances of groups working together where patriarchy was not an issue, and patriarchal attitudes were not behind the decision making process in every household. There is undoubtedly a tradition of paternalism in business; one farmer, when the interviewer pursued a benevolent paternalistic statement he had made, said almost off-handedly that he <u>did</u> treat his employees (all male in this case) like that and regarded them as an extension of the family. Older members of the community spoke of the paternalist tradition in the area stemming from Sir Henry Jones of IXL Pty Ltd, who earlier in the century was the chief employer in the area, through the firm's extensive apricot orchards, and who, for

example, paid for employees' honeymoons. Certainly the attitudes of paternalism on the part of some of the employers of casual and seasonal labour in the area, and the reciprocal loyalty which 'regular' seasonal employees seem to feel, is a characteristic of the local labour market and fits in to Doeringer's analysis of similar peripheral situations in Maine (Doeringer 1984).

6.6 Conclusion

This analysis of household strategies from the Spring Bay survey shows an area in which opportunities, aspirations and outcomes in lifestyles vary greatly. Comment on household income has been restricted to generalities, and to the number of people with paid employment in households. The reason for this is the unsatisfactory nature of the data elicited. The number of households affected in various ways proved too great to put much specific reliance on the quantitative information. There are households in which the wife does not know or prefers not to discuss her husband's income; in which the husband simply said 'my wife has private means'; in which it is virtually impossible to separate income from business or from family living (although in these cases a large amount of relevant detail was given); and in which internal evidence from the interview reveals that rents, investment income or odd pensions or allowances had not been included in the figure given although they featured in discussion. What is abundantly evident is that many households consciously put together a living from a variety of sources, and that the decisions relating to this have a spatial as well as a gender component.

This spatial component operates at different scales: the size and nature of family territory; decisions about who operates on that territory and who has employment outside it; how far that employment takes the worker, and how that affects the spatial freedom of other family members; the restricted choice in education and its effects on students' spatial patterns of activity and parents' financial strategies; where buying takes place, not simply for the household, but goods and services for family businesses which are linked to the household; the buying of goods and services by local bigger businesses which links the area into the wider economy; the nature of leisure activities which may involve local amenities, imported consumer goods or foreign travel. Some of the spatial links are less immediately evident: the demand for petrol, electricity, telecommunications and water; the links to world financial markets through investment and interest rates, and those who seek to avoid these links by cutting themselves off from the credit economy; the effects of government decisions; and the influence of the debate between the environmental movement and developers over access to resources.

These spatial considerations are not only part of local life but they are changing, both in kind and amount. The amount of commodification, the level of consumerism, the development both of new goods to tempt spending and of new enterprises which attract

new employees, changes in 'time-space compression' not just in getting to Hobart, but in getting local seafood to the Tokyo market, all are related to the process of capital accumulation, economic restructuring, the place of local conditions in the world capitalist economy and degrees of power between individuals and institutions.

Current theory in economic geography is reaching out to encompass this changing world view, and in Massey's phrase, to develop 'a global sense of place' (Massey 1991a: 28). How to reach a meaningful synthesis while avoiding essentialism is the principal problem. One possibility involves examining the nature of the 'building blocks' of statistical thinking in order to avoid some of the inbuilt dualisms such as employer/employee or employed/unemployed which distort arguments; a second possibility entails looking at a different spatial framework for theorising household activities; and a third investigating the relations between individual agents and structures at an increasing level of abstraction. These possibilities are addressed in the remaining chapters.

CHAPTER 7 RECONSIDERING CLASSIFICATIONS AND THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF SMALL BUSINESSES

In this chapter, some of the conceptual problems which arose in exploring labour market experience and household coping strategies at this small scale and detailed level but wide scope are examined further. Most of these problems relate to definitions of common terms; new definitions which are necessary as forms of employment change in scope and importance; the dualisms in usage which conceal what in reality are often continua; and the assumptions behind taxonomies which may influence modes of thinking.

7.1 Definitions and dualisms

There is common acceptance of the basic data provided by government statistical agencies, which form an indispensable pool of secondary data for research and policy making (although some criticisms have been made by environmentalists and feminists: see for example, Ekins 1986, Ross and Usher 1986, Waring 1988). The facility has existed in most western countries for at least this century, and the data format has been to a large extent coordinated by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) so that international comparisons can be made. It has been refined through improvements in electronic data manipulation, incorporating both recommendations of the academic community and more complete and sophisticated cover in censuses and surveys. It is difficult therefore to look behind this ongoing and familiar aid to research and to reassess its value, and the unrecognised effects which some of its characteristics and definitions may entail.

The thinking which underlies the operations of national bureaus of statistics and the ILO is of necessity atomistic, modernist and quantitative. Many of the definitions and classifications used have their origin in the mid 1940s when the United States was looking forward to post-war reconstruction with a determination that the conditions of the Great Depression should never recur. To a large extent in the western world this was the era of the single male breadwinner having full-time employment for all his working life; employment for married women, which had been resurrected during the Second World War after largely disappearing since being necessary in the First World War, was just beginning to gain acceptance. In a period when Fordist methods were dominant, and indeed necessary as the peacetime economy geared up to replace the shortages of the war years, some concepts were given more importance. Half a century later, some distinctions which were valid then appear to have blurred, while other blanket terms now require disaggregation. In addition, despite new classifications, such as ASCO in Australia, and sophisticated electronic manipulation of data, some aspects of initial classification are still dependent on the understanding and interpretation of coding clerks. The importance of the National Accounts and calculations of GDP and GNP further complicate the

conceptualisation of some categories, particularly in respect to some areas of informal activities, a concept which had not been formulated in the 1940s.

7.1.1 Employer/employee and employer/self-employed

Labour force statistics use a tripartite division of the employed into employer, employee and self-employed (plus the increasing anachronistic anomaly of 'unpaid helper in a family business', whose original incorporation reflects national statisticians' preoccupation with production and profit). There is a tendency to see these three as discrete groups, with two further groups of the unemployed and those not in the labour force 'off to one side'.

If contemporary western capitalism is compared with the situation in the late 1940s, changes in structure are evident which impinge on this categorisation of the labour force. The number and increasing importance of national and multi-national corporations in particular raises the question of the nature of an employer and an employee. Even the managing director is a salaried employee of the company. The members of the board of directors have power and possibly control, and frequently hold shares, but it is the whole body of shareholders who legally own the means of production. In some eventualities, it is the manager of the local plant who makes local decisions, but this will be within constraints from higher in the management hierarchy, and in some cases important decisions are passed down from the board of directors.

At a different scale, a small family company which decides to become incorporated changes the legal status of its owners from employer to employee. This confusion of status extends to the self-employed. In the 1986 census in Australia, one question asked: 'In the main job held last week, was the person: a wage/salary earner; conducting own business but not employing others; conducting own business and employing others; a helper not receiving wages or salary' (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1986: 94) maintains the divisions referred to above. The owner/manager of an incorporated small business is technically an employee (and not self-employed if the company does not employ others); the 1981 UK Census had at least an 11 per cent discrepancy between the Census and the 10 per cent sample checked for consistency by experts in this area, which up till then had not been considered significant (Hakim 1988). Behind the problem of not being sure what precisely is meant by the terms is the question of in what circumstances that sort of division has much meaning. It is thought that incorporated small businesses are likely to be the ones with most potential for growth on account of the professional approach to finance being taken, and that it should be possible to identify them statistically (Hakim 1988). In addition, there is evidence of the smallest business owners going from employer status to self-employed in economic down-turns when employees are dismissed and back to employer status when conditions improve and labour is rehired.

7.1.2 Full-time/part-time employment

The dualisms in current use are not all the effect of statisticians. For example, the ABS collects data for hours of work in five groupings of hours but usage, backed by the media, constructs the dichotomy of full-time/part-time work. In fact, one of the salient pieces of information on hours worked in Tasmania is that the majority of women employed part-time are working less than 15 hours per week, which raises many questions about the reasons for this.

Increases in the number of married women in employment and the increase in part-time employment have had two effects. One is that which the nature of decisions to return to employment have had on unemployment rates (Wilde 1988) and movement in the labour force in general, discussed in Ch. 3. The other is the need to investigate and define part-time, temporary and casual employment. The ABS considers part-time employment to be under 35 hours per week; what is important is not necessarily the hours but the conditions of this work with regard to on-costs from the employers' view and benefits from the workers' viewpoint. The trend towards part-time employment is likely to increase with the move towards a flexible labour force so it is important to know who is doing what within the non-full-time (referred to henceforth as non-standard) labour force and who is receiving what.

The ABS does not normally distinguish between permanent part-time and casual part-time work; a part-time worker is simply one who works less than 35 hours per week. It is, however, becoming increasingly recognised that growth in the numbers of part-time workers and changes in the character of part-time work make more precise definition important. In 1982 and 1986 the ABS Alternative Working Arrangements survey was carried out to collect data on the proportions of permanent and casual employees in Australia; these surveys differentiated between a permanent worker and a casual worker on the basis of entitlement or not to paid holidays and sick pay in his/her main job. Part-time work of all types is particularly, but not exclusively, important in the sphere of women's employment. In Australia, a comprehensive study of part-time work was undertaken by DEET's Labor Resource Centre with a grant from the Women's Research and Employment Initiatives Program, and the following section draws extensively on this report.

DEET (1990: 3) defines the difference between permanent and casual part-time employment in the following terms:

- a permanent part-time employee is one who works less than the normally scheduled weekly or monthly hours of work or less than a full year, and who is entitled to pro rata holiday and sick pay;

- a casual part-time employee is one who works less than the normally scheduled weekly or monthly hours of work or less than a full year, and who is not entitled to pro rata holiday and sick pay.

This reference to normally scheduled hours of work deals with the problem of people, such as airline pilots, who normally work a shorter week because of the nature of their work. The definitions cover a range of work situations:

- regular part-time work involving a set number of hours per week;
- regular part-time work where the number of hours per week is unspecified and may fluctuate from week to week;
- temporary part-time work which recurs on a seasonal basis, and which may involve re-employment of the same workers each year. The weekly hours may be full-time or less than full-time;
- temporary part-time work on a fixed term basis, for example employment for a number of months to undertake a specific task;
- occasional or unanticipated part-time work, for example providing relief for full-time workers on leave. Such employees may be drawn from a list of people 'on call' or from employment agencies;
- 'outwork', where work is carried out in the home and payment is directly related to output; and
- 'fee for service' work, for example self-employed professionals receiving payment by the hour for services rendered. (DEET 1990: 3)

These work situations are, however, descriptive rather than analytic. Carter (1990) discusses a questionnaire conducted in 1986 in South Australia by the ABS Labour Force survey. As a result of the process illustrated in Fig. 7.1, the part-time labour force was classified into seven groups:

1. Temporary full-time: usually 35 hours a week or more, no job security, has not worked full-time for all of the last 12 months, has paid holiday leave.
2. Casual full-time: usually works 35 hours a week or more, no job security, has not worked full-time for all of the last 12 months, no paid holiday leave.
3. Permanent part-time: usually works less than 35 hours per week, has paid holiday leave, has job security.
4. Temporary part-time: usually works less than 35 hours per week, has paid holiday leave, no job security.
5. Regular casual: usually works less than 35 hours per week, no paid holiday leave, paid for hours worked, steady income.
6. Irregular casual: usually works less than 35 hours per week, no paid holiday leave, paid for hours worked, not a steady income.
7. Other part-time: usually works less than 35 hours per week, no paid holiday leave, not paid by the hour. (Carter 1990: 26)

A British source includes workers on training contracts and participants in special programs for the unemployed in temporary work and comments on the overlaps between various forms of 'non-standard worker' in terms of temporary, part-time and self-

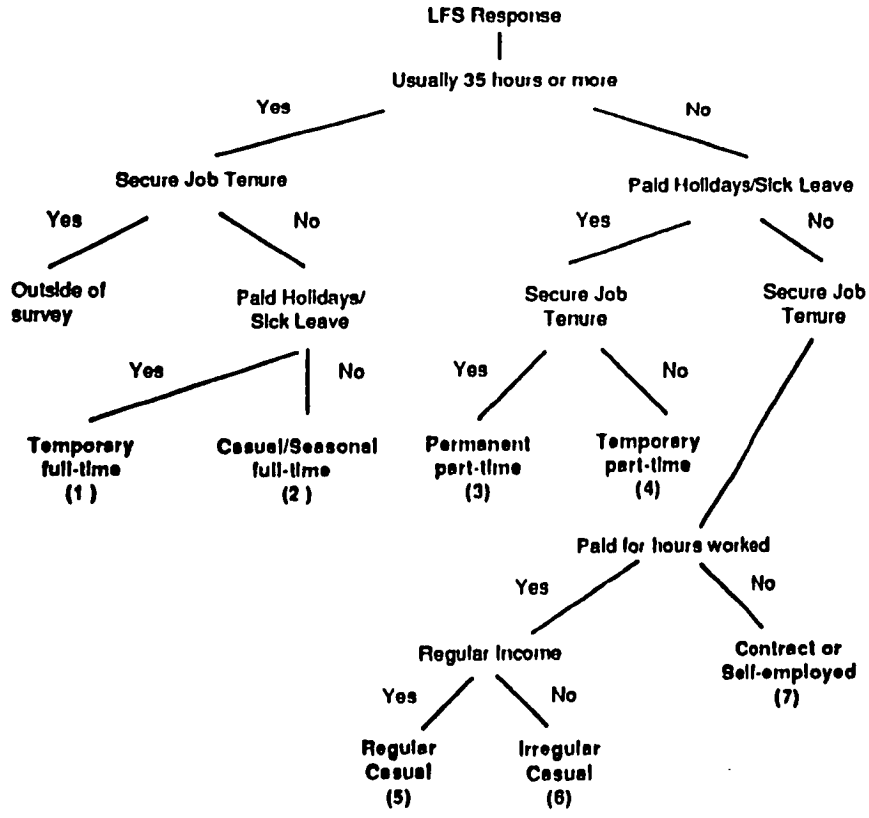


Fig. 7.1 Classification of the part-time labour force
Source: Carter (1990: 26)

employed (Casey 1988). The common law concept in Australia of lack of contract and of working as and when required is discussed in Romeyn (1992). All the studies mentioned comment on the need for more precise definitions, particularly with a view to specific purposes such as the collection of more accurate employment statistics, the formulation of government policy on part-time work and local gender initiatives:

> In reality, the terms are used widely without commonly recognised definitions, and within industrial awards, official statistics and other literature are used in different ways to mean different things (DEET 1990: 3).

7.1.3 Unemployed/casual employment

The interface between unemployment and other statuses, especially the availability of short-term casual jobs is of increasing interest. In Australia the changes in the basis of income support for the unemployed which came into effect on 1 July 1991, referred to earlier, are linked to the emphasis on 'working smarter' embodied in the workplace change strategy. In non-metropolitan areas, however, it is possible that the new emphasis on training in preparation for jobs to be available when there is an upturn in the national economy will add to the disadvantages of a peripheral location, both geographically and structurally within the labour market, and increase an already marginalised position. The previous dole system had evolved in effect into a minimum subsistence allowance, from which it was possible to allow for subtracting wages from casual jobs. Although it was open to abuse, and did entail at least a formal requirement to

prove jobseeking was taking place, it allowed an accommodation to be made between accepting income support and taking whatever short-term jobs were available, perhaps fitting better into the mixed economy of a marginal area. It will be interesting to see whether the new scheme is effective. The initial publicity contrasts a worried person supported by a hammock-type structure with cheerful people climbing a ladder; there will be some in non-metropolitan areas who would see the hammock as a safety net, and the ladder as leading potentially to further migration to big cities.

7.1.4 Formal/informal activities

The importance of informal activities of all kinds in survival during restructuring and unemployment is evident from the Spring Bay survey and matches evidence in the literature. Much of the literature, however, uses terms such as 'the formal sector' and 'the informal sector'. Studies, however, ranging from the classic work on Cali's garbage dump (Birkbeck 1979) to a study of Hobart's Salamanca Market (Walker 1989) have demonstrated the interconnection of formal and informal activities both through people and materials in the sphere of linked, semi-autonomous and underground activities (see Fig. 2.18). The self-provisioning and DIY aspects of informality may be linked to unemployment, but are equally apparent in employed and retired people.

There is debate about the future of informal activities, both with regard to growth or decline and as a 'seedbed' for new skills and new small industries in an area. One view asserts that some informal activities are an essential part of the restructuring process:

> The combined activities of small and unregulated operations now appear to be of more than marginal significance. ... For those who believed such practices to be well buried in their countries' industrial pasts, the seventies and eighties have had more than a few surprises. We ignore these activities at our peril because they are likely to form part of a major ongoing process of economic transformation (Portes and Sassen-Koob 1987: 57)

Others see informal activities not as residual or the re-emergence of an earlier more primitive form of production but as part of the increasingly participatory relations between capital and labour. Henry (1982) advocates the importance of recognising the value of informal institutions, exploiting their ethos and informalising formal institutions. The potential of informal activities to provide perhaps involuntary alternatives to formal employment in the current depressed state of the world economy, coupled with the crisis of mass production, is recognised in different areas by Lozano (1983) and Weiss (1986). Lozano emphasises the competition as well as the interdependence between 'the formal and informal sectors'; she argues that those converting personal resources and social networks into income-producing capital and labour must define their enterprise and working relations in personal rather than business terms in order to avoid being seen as avoiding tax and labour regulations, and asserts that those 'walking out of the system's front door ... are confronted with the realities of the same system in new

ways' (Lozano 1983: 36). Weiss argues that the spread of small informal capital depends on contingent conditions of social structure such as dispersed patterns of ownership, barriers to female formal employment and strong social networks, and thus that 'the potential for clandestine production is not equally distributed throughout western capitalism, whatever the similarity of incentives for going 'off the books' (Weiss 1986: 231).

Three sociopolitical strategies with regard to informal activities are outlined by Heinze and Olk (1979). First they envisage the possibility of suppression of the welfare state with consequent divisive action, particularly against women in formal employment. Second, they employ the term 'technocratic statism' for the modernisation of the economy into structured, standardised, salaried services and alternative lifestyles with 'freely chosen' insecurity. Finally they identify the preferred complementary network involving the recognition of the productive capacity of the informal sector in specific economic areas and an acceptance of the principle that this should be allowed to develop through the voluntary contraction of both private market and state activity, especially in labour intensive areas such as social services.

Whatever the future, two things are clear: that formal and informal activities are more closely linked in diverse ways than the current dichotomous use implies; and that a way should be found to incorporate informal activities more closely into broader conceptualisations of forms of employment.

7.1.5 Dualisms and modes of thought

None of this critique is intended to suggest abandoning the use of data collected by the national bureaus; what is important is being aware of the influence which they have on modes of thought. Firstly they give emphasis to the main job held by a person, while for some people what matters is the totality of activities and possibly the synergy between them. Understanding as opposed to measuring may require a holistic approach. If the starting point is measurable entities, it may influence the whole conception. In metaphorical terms it is a contrast between a wall built of individual bricks and a wall in the concrete of which various components are melded. The availability of discrete data disaggregated in terms of other data sets, for example labour force status by age and gender, while potentially useful, is subject to the same criticisms as the original concepts and is not a substitute for rethinking.

Lip service has been paid in recent years to the idea of going backwards and forwards between theory and empirical data. The foregoing analysis points to the possibility of the empirical unknowingly influencing the conceptual, particularly as many researchers use secondary data from national statistical bureaus in extensive work unless doing a purely qualitative study. This is therefore perhaps an extension of Sayer's warning of the dangers hidden in the linking of extensive and intensive data (Sayer 1985). More recently,

Sayer has written about deconstructing some of these dualisms, including even extensive/intensive. Before considering what might replace some of the dualisms discussed above, the implications of some of the conceptualisations of skills and occupations are addressed, since they feed into an alternative reconceptualisation of forms of employment.

7.2 Occupations and skills

Restructuring has led to an increased interest in skills. The mismatch between ABS 1986 occupational data and the survey sample pointed out in Ch. 5 leads to the conclusion that the problem is conceptual. The ASCO system of classification of occupation based on skills, first used in the 1986 census, uses the two principal criteria, skill level and skill specialisation. Skill level is defined as the range and complexity of the set of tasks involved, related to the amount of formal education, on-the-job training and previous experience needed before the set of tasks can be performed satisfactorily. Skill specialisation is defined by the field of knowledge required, the tools and machinery used, the materials worked on and the kinds of goods and services produced. While it is a great improvement in conceptualisation on the previously used Classification and Classified List of Occupations, it has some weaknesses which are best illustrated by example. The problem in relation to the thesis was originally in the conceptualisation of skills required in the management of small businesses such as a farm, a fishing boat, a service station or a plumbing enterprise. The following observations may be made on the basis of the manual coding system (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1987, 1990):

- a farmer (owner/manager) is coded as a manager/administrator, even if he/she is the single owner/manager/worker on the farm;
- a masterfisherman is coded as a para-professional on the basis that specificity of skills overrides level of skills;
- a plumber can only be a tradesman, according to the coding handbook, whether he is an employee, or the owner of a small business employing others;
- a service station owner is only classified as a manager if he/she lists no tasks beyond management - if he/she admits to tasks such as serving customers the coding becomes sales and personal service.

So there appear to be considerable unstated assumptions on what is meant by management skills in ASCO, and NAI (no additional information) often appears to result in management classification.

The revised International Standard Classification of Occupations referred to as ISCO-88 (ILO 1990) has a similar conceptual approach to ASCO and offers solutions to some of the problems encountered in the Spring Bay survey and outlined above. For example, it

separates out Skilled Agricultural and Fishery Workers as a major group, in contrast to ASCO, where most farmers are a minor group in Managers and Administrators. It suggests that in cases where the tasks and duties performed require skills usually obtained through different levels of training and experience, jobs should be classified in accordance with those tasks and duties which require the highest level of skills. This is applicable to developments in broadbanding and multi-skilling, such as the restructuring of the Spring Bay Council's outdoor work gang, members of which still perform some labouring functions using hand tools when circumstances demand, but also use a variety of machinery and vehicles. ISCO-88 also takes into consideration the need to identify occupations in the informal sector, and suggests that units in Group 7 Craft and Related Trades Workers and Group 9 Elementary Occupations may be particularly useful in classifying some informal activities. In relation to the problem of management of small businesses, a paradoxical situation arises. The section on 'Approaches to Some Specific Issues' states:

> ISCO-88, unlike its predecessor, does not take into consideration whether a worker is a working proprietor or not, as this and similar attributes of the labour force, such as being an employer or an employee etc., reflect status in employment and not the tasks and duties of the worker, and therefore should be dealt with in a separate *Status in employment classification* (International Labour Organisation 1990: 10).

The inclusion, however, of phrases such as 'on their own behalf or on behalf of the proprietor, plan, direct and coordinate the activities of the business' in the descriptions of minor groups does clarify the situation. Nevertheless, the bias towards production commented on earlier is still retained in the ruling that:

> In cases where the tasks and duties are connected with different stages of the production and distribution of goods process, tasks and duties related to *the production stage* should take priority over associated ones, such as those related to the sales and marketing of the same goods, their transportation or the management of the production process - unless one of these tasks and duties predominates (ILO 1990: 9).

The example given of a baker is similar to the previous problem of the plumber and suggests that classifications may underestimate the importance of the management component of self-employment or of working proprietors.

Allied to this is a problem of small businesses jointly owned in legal terms by married couples. In the Spring Bay survey, and presumably in the census, where married couples jointly own a business which one of them runs, the others gave precedence in answering the question 'Are you employed?' to their own job, and information about their additional employer or self-employed status came later. This raised the question of what is the status of a sleeping partner if he/she has no other job? Is the correct classification 'self-employed' or 'not in the labour force'. This is perhaps covered by Massey's phrase 'social character' in discussing 'all the different kinds of small firms' (Massey 1984: 39) but is an

aspect of individual/household strategies which is between employment status and ownership.

7.3 Alternative conceptualisations

Fig. 2.7 shows Massey's basic framework (adapted from Wright 1976) which is claimed to allow three things: the internal relations of capitalist production to be examined; connections to be made between social relations of capitalist production and the broader structure of society; and links to be made from special functions and the group performing them in a capitalist society at specific times to long term processes of capitalist development. The emphasis here is on production, and the bourgeoisie and proletariat are defined in relation to each other and by the degree of control over the process of production. 'The bourgeoisie is defined by having economic ownership and possession of the means of production' (Massey 1984: 31) but this general concept is mediated by the introduction of 'contradictory locations' (Wright 1976: 4) to produce a spectrum from the bourgeoisie to the working class:

> ... from top management with some, but not full, economic ownership alongside full participation in relations of possession through to, say someone supervising just one production line, and having, therefore, no economic ownership, little if any control over the physical apparatus of production, and limited control over other employees (Massey 1984: 37).

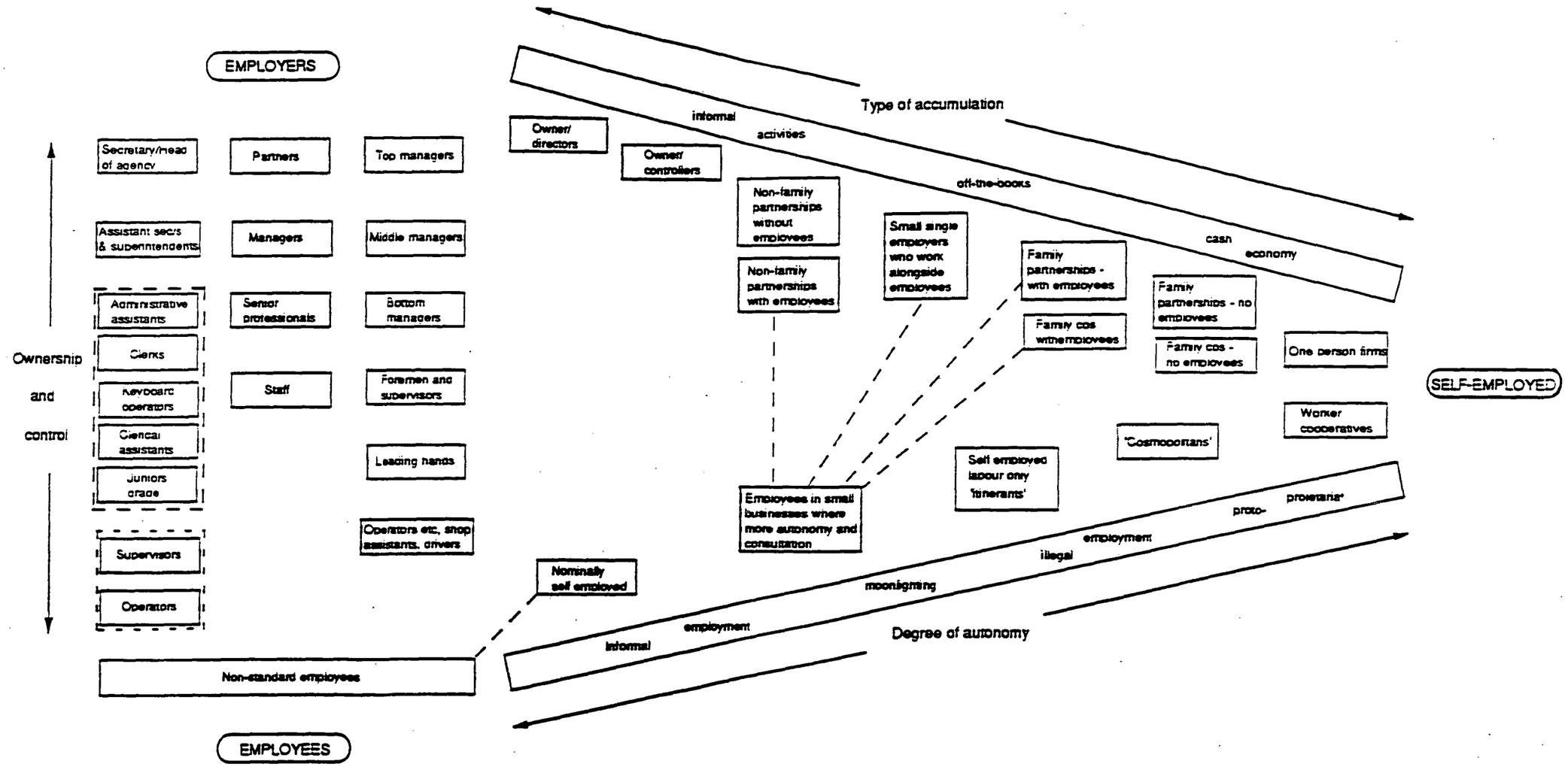
The dimension between the proletariat and the petit-bourgeoisie is seen as reflecting the process of removing immediate job control from direct producers, including deskilling, and refers to such groups as craftsmen and skilled manual workers who have flexibility in how the job is done, and scientists, high-level technicians etc who, as part of the process of separating conception from execution, hold jobs which can be viewed as the autonomous, interesting results of the deskilling process and the dichotomisation of the labour force.

The dimension between the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie, both ends of which have full economic ownership and control over the relations of production, is articulated by the relation to exploitation of labour and so to capital accumulation. The petit-bourgeois owner is differentially involved in direct production while the capitalist employer is more involved with the employment of others and thus in accumulation through appropriation.

In addition, the framework can be used to explore the hierarchical distribution in different places of different functions of management, the geographical organisation of social relations of production in branch plant domination of regional economies and interregional relations, and prospects for future growth.

Massey emphasises that this is only a framework, and that its point is to provide an approach to analysis of the real world. It is used in Fig. 7.2 as an entry point to current forms of employment and situations within the labour market. There is a degree of

Fig. 7.2 The social relations of employment



ambivalence in the original, from its carefully non-specific title, the doubt about whether positions within the diagram represent class positions or actual jobs, and, in the discussion, the use of the telling phrase 'the personnel of capitalism' which neatly begs the question of who are the bourgeoisie. Fig. 7.2 therefore is at a lower level of abstraction, in an attempt to move into a more specific labour market mode rather than a theoretical class analysis, but retains the underlying structure of social relations.

The original emphasis on production is broadened to incorporate structures within the service sector, including the state bureaucracy. The three spectra typify, in general, manufacturing or retailing, the state service, and accounting and law firms. Obviously not all firms, particularly specialist enterprises, fit into this typology, but many have similar structures or combinations of these structures. The section within the hatched line can be seen as office management and support, which in larger firms is linked to the production line of command or the 'billable hours' hierarchy of accounting and law firms through a responsible manager or partner. This section encompasses personnel and accounting as well as secretarial and keyboard functions. Within the three continua identified, the partners are the only ones strictly to combine ownership and control, and within the partnership structure of multinational service firms there is a clear hierarchy of control. The question asked earlier, who are the bourgeoisie, has been replaced by who are the employers, or perhaps who controls capital.

Equally at this level the question 'who are the self-employed?' can be asked. Early work on informal activities in less developed countries questioned the clear cut dichotomy between wage labour and self-employment (see, for example, Scott AM (1979), and Bromley and Gerry (1979a) whose categories of disguised wage work and dependent work are shown in Rogerson's (1985) diagram in Fig. 2.19). In the marxist tradition, the self-employed are usually defined as owning their means of production and having considerable autonomy and self-direction within the work process. Self-employed is often used interchangeably with independent contractor, self-employed contractor and subcontractor (Tassie 1991), as well as with petty bourgeoisie. Wright *et al.* (1982) use the definition of petty bourgeoisie 'positions which own their own means of production (self-employed) and employ no-one' (Wright *et al.* 1982: 716). Bögenhold and Staber (1991) argue against characterising the petty bourgeoisie or the self-employed as a more or less homogeneous class category since empirically the category of self-employment includes a variety of employment situations which may differ substantially from the definition of the ideal type. They propose adding a modification of Scase and Goffee's four types of self-employment (Scase and Goffee 1980: 23-24) as follows:

1. The self-employed who work for themselves and formally employ no labour, a group which can be sub-divided into
   i) those who own their means of production and control their labour process but whose incomes are largely determined by market forces, and

ii) those who have no autonomy in the labour process, may not own their means of production, and are independent only in a formal statistical sense.

2. Small employers who work alongside their employees and manage their business themselves.

3. Owner-controllers who do not work alongside their employees but who manage their business themselves.

4. Owner-directors who control their business through manager/s.

The classic example of petty bourgeoisie is small shopkeepers who, while employing no-one, made use of the unpaid labour of family members; this situation appears to have been spatially and temporally contingent, and now appears almost anachronistic in western capitalism, if only because of the tax advantage usually to be gained by declaring the spouse as formally employed. The closest current example of self-employment thus defined is possibly a craftsperson or a single tradesperson; many of the latter use a family member to answer the telephone and keep the books, although now it is possible to organise a one-person enterprise using an answering machine and/or a mobile phone. There is a growing diversity of employment situations commonly defined in official statistics as self-employment which differ from this ideal type. In the United Kingdom, self-employment is defined in the Department of Employment's Labour Force Survey on the basis of payment of National Insurance contributions, and in the General Household Survey by self-definition backed up by income tax schedules, but in many cases there is a lack of any clear distinction between employee and self-employed (Dale 1986). Hakim (1985 in Dale 1986) suggests that there is a continuum from a master/servant relation to truly independent contractors. While some self-employed, such as those in the much quoted Rank Xerox Networking scheme, own their own means of production, and work for other clients beyond the firm which encouraged them to become self-employed, others 'have few or none of the advantages of employee status, with no evidence of the advantages of self-employment either' (Hakim 1984: 148 discussing homeworkers). It can also be argued that the self employed are marginal within the entrepreneurial middle class and that self-employment may form a transitional stage between being an employee and an entrepreneur (employer) (Scase and Goffee 1982). This may be true for the skilled craftsperson or tradesperson, and for new technologies at various levels, and computer programmers, analysts and consultants, but for many others it is simply moving into a casualised form of employment. Hakim (1988b) asserts that the debates so far in this under-researched field have been informed more by ideology than empirical research; she points, however, to the 1987 British Social Attitudes Survey's findings that one-third of self-employed have employees and one-third work alone, the remainder being in various relations with self-employed partners or both partners and employees. Bögenhold and Staber (1991) quote the figures for West Germany where 46 per cent of all self-employed have no employees, and the USA where about 80 per cent employ no workers. Figures for

Australia must be 100 per cent because of the wording of the census question about self-employment.

Loveridge (1983: 162 - see Fig. 2.4) contrasts the 'itinerants' of the secondary external labour market (e.g. seasonal, casual workers and short term contractors, homeworkers, unskilled construction workers and agricultural labourers) with the 'cosmopolitans' of the primary external labour market (e.g. contract workers in computing, accounting and legal services). Reservations therefore should be expressed about the quality of employment in some situations subsumed under the term self-employment. At a policy level, Bögenhold and Staber conclude that

> [t]o the extent that in times of slack labour markets an increased number of individuals move into self-employment and enter most highly competitive industries where barriers to entry are low and business failure rates are high, public policies aimed at encouraging additional mobility into self-employment are seriously flawed. Blanket public assistance given to anyone wishing to start a business may simply accelerate the economic peripheralization of many of the self-employed. ... For the self-employed, being 'petty bourgeois' does not necessarily imply employment stability and autonomy in the labour process, and where it does, self-direction is often closely circumscribed by external dependencies and a tendency toward economic marginalisation (Bögenhold and Staber 1991: 236).

At a more theoretical level, Hakim concludes that

> [t]he most pressing need is for a refined classification of the different types of self-employment, and where they stand on a continuum from *nominal* self-employment to the *entrepreneurial* small business owner-manager with a few employees and plans for expansion. Somewhere in between the two extremes are the professional self-employed, who often form partnerships; the small business that is entirely based on family workers; and worker cooperatives; among others. At the very minimum we need to develop some rules of thumb which differentiate fairly reliably between the employee, the nominally self-employed labour-only subcontractor and the one-man business (Hakim 1988b: 445).

This minimum does not yet appear to have been achieved, and because of contingent differences between the tax and social security systems of different countries may be difficult to achieve beyond a national level.

In discussing the original framework (Fig. 2.7) Massey comments '... along the dimension between petit-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie lie all the different kinds of small firms, differentiated by numbers of employees, by attitude to expansion and by social character' (Massey 1984: 39). In terms of kinds of employment, however, it is only the proprietors of those firms who are located along that dimension; it is clear from Hakim's analysis that the classification of those who are employed/self-employed in some of those situations is problematic. Non-standard employees, those whose working conditions are part-time, seasonal or casual are categorised separately, while some aspects of informal activities

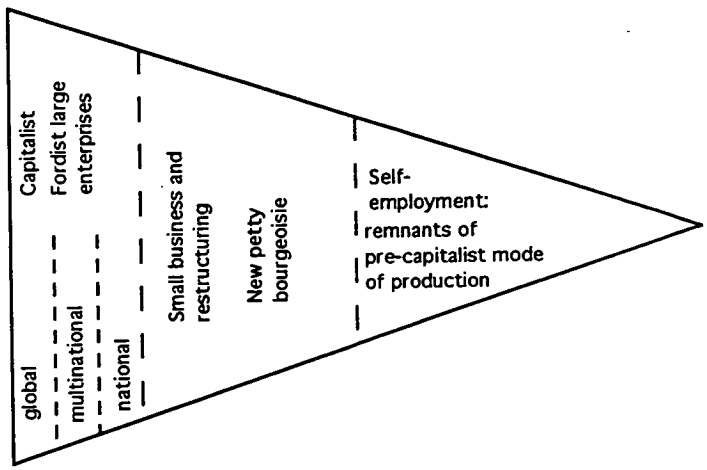


Fig. 7.3 Overview of Fig. 7.2

are more associated with one axis of the framework than with others, although this is not to suggest that they do not occur elsewhere.

The framework may be viewed more abstractly. In Fig. 7.3, Fordist businesses with structured employment are seen as capitalist embodying varying situations of ownership and control or lack of it, and susceptible of being subdivided into national, multinational and global operations. The higher up the hierarchy an employment position, the greater is the likelihood of responsibility for a wider geographical area, and of greater geographical mobility in further employment opportunities. The true self-employment area is seen as the remnants of a pre-capitalist mode of production. The central area of small business etc is seen as the purlieu of some forms of flexibility, both of the new petty bourgeoisie and of restructuring strategies moving away from a Taylorist chain of supervision. These have in common seeking to involve employees in decision making and forward planning, through Quality Control Circles in larger firms, and also by the flattening of the management pyramid through the elimination of middle management in both large and small firms. Some of the small professional firms have the same concept of 'billable hours' and not directly productive support staff as the big accountancy and law firms but without the hierarchical structure. Individual family doctors and dentists and more structured medical practices traditionally are in this category, and more recent developments such as computer consultancy are following the same path. Within these various structures, there is opportunity for employment in very different conditions, and there are employees who prefer traditional industrial relations as well as those who welcome either the consultative process of newer management structures or the more personal relations of small enterprises.

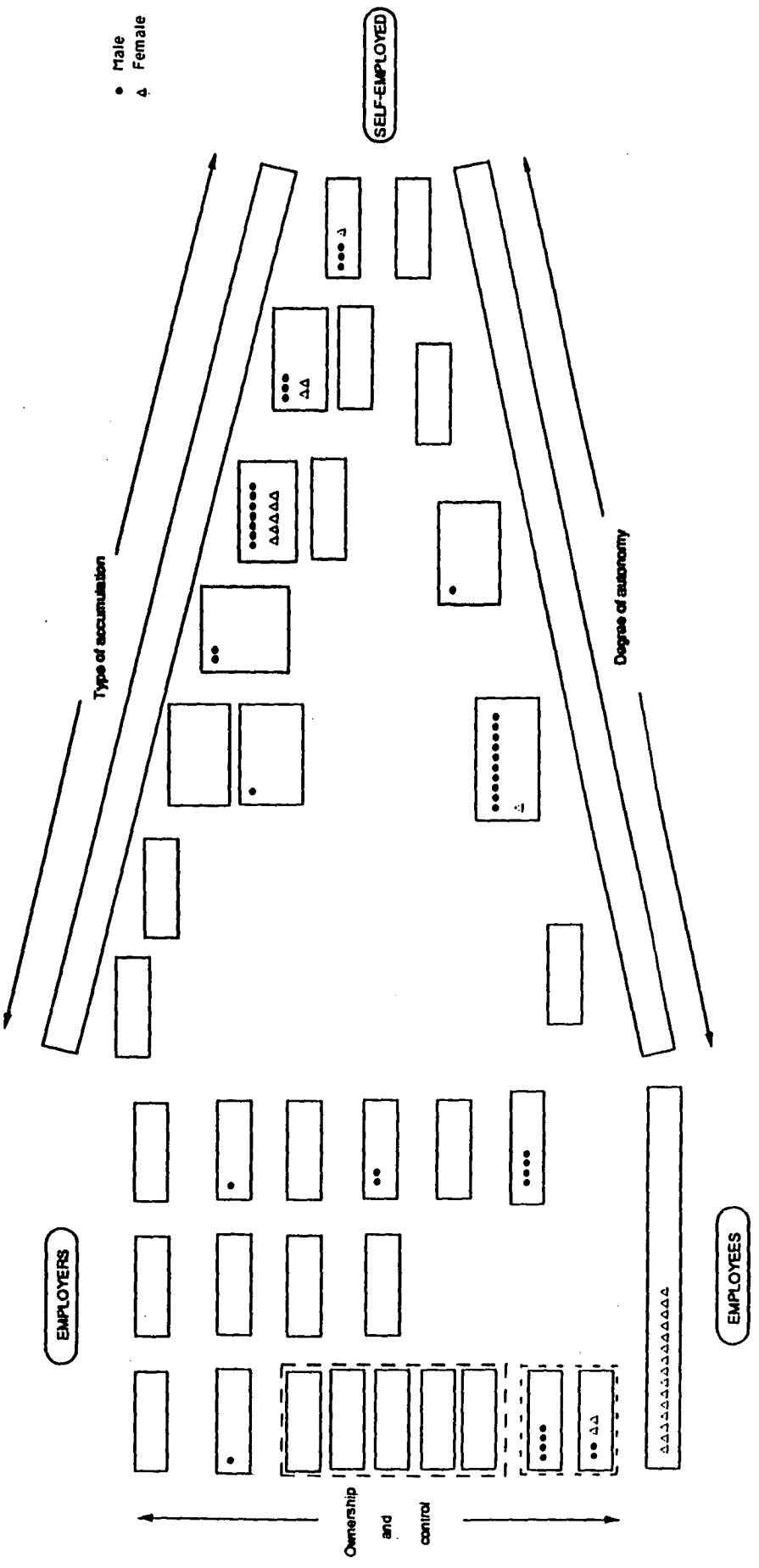


Fig. 7.4 Employment in Spring Bay

Fig. 7.4 shows the concentration of employment of those in the sample who are economically active in two areas, the lower end of the employee grouping and in small businesses. The labour market situation of the workers at the major employer, APPM Triabunna, has been covered to a large degree in Ch. 5. The situation of the non-standard workers, however, does not appear as clearly in that chapter because of the inadequacy of definition of these categories of work which have become increasingly important in recent years. If this non-standard group is disaggregated into the categories put forward in Fig. 7.1 and by gender, the details of the marginal nature of this type of employment become more apparent (Fig. 7.5).

All those in non-standard employment are female. In State employment in groups 3 and 5, employment is in teaching and health services. Only one of the four individuals involved is satisfied with part-time work; lack of funding is the constraint on the others having more work, and two of them had their hours cut earlier in the year of the survey. The private sector employment in groups 2, 5 and 6 is in the hospitality industry and in fish processing (Group 6 includes being on call and working split shifts). The working conditions of those in hospitality and their reactions to them differ between individuals but have certain elements in common. Waitressing and bar work are preferred but there is insufficient work in those areas so that cleaning tasks make up the amount of work wanted. Most agree that it is preferable from the employers' view to have people experienced in all areas for flexibility in seasonally variable or emergency situations, but in normal circumstances they have a set routine tied to different time demands in the three areas of work. With one exception, they prefer to work part-time. None has young children to organise working hours around, and five have husbands whose jobs take them away from

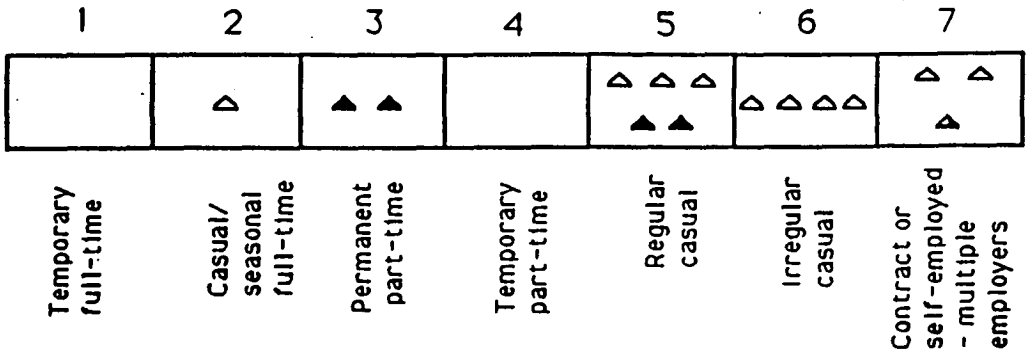


Figure 7.5 Detail of non-standard employees from Figure 7.4

Spring Bay for long hours in a day or for longer periods. They find the work demanding, however, and by implication 'trade off' needed respite against a greater second income; as one said 'the main skills are personal - patience, tact and memory - and you need a break'. Another said wryly that although she quite enjoyed her present job, she did not regard it as a career to be worked at, and hoped that there would be more to the rest of her life than hotel work.

Those who work in fish processing accept the casual and seasonal nature of the employment. Much of the work is unskilled and can be combined with group conversation, and there is a social element in their job satisfaction. The extra money is welcome as well as the company but as one young mother remarked 'I'm glad when the season finishes'. Group 6, the contract or self-employed group, come under the heading of 'nominally self-employed'. They are women who are combining the care of children with a few odd jobs such as contract cleaning, practical nursing, and 'doing the books' for small businesses; all work for two or three enterprises.

This raises a series of questions about the nature of such employment:

1. Is there a pattern of how non-standard employees are related to other groups of workers by household?
2. What are the wider gender implications of this concentration of marginal jobs in the female sector?
3. Is this marginal employment an integral and longstanding part of petty commodity production, or is it a trend related to increasing flexibility in the labour market?

These questions can not be answered satisfactorily by themselves, as the non-standard employees are bound up, not only with their household strategies, but also with opportunities for self-employment and the nature and viability of local small businesses. Implicit in this consideration is a body of theory developed over recent years with the object of providing an explanation of changes in rural and semi-rural areas. The major thrust of this theorisation has been indicated in Chapter 2 but at this point an evaluation of its relevance to the situation found in Spring Bay is necessary.

7.4 The nature of small enterprises in non-metropolitan areas

The recent political economy literature on family businesses, and especially on businesses in non-metropolitan areas is principally derived from Europe and North America (but see Lawrence 1990 and Taylor 1991 on the wider Australian scene). It still concentrates heavily on family farming although it has moved away from the preoccupation with peasant studies as such to an exploration of the processes linking family farming and petty commodity production to capitalist production. Where attention is given to rural family businesses outside agriculture, the tendency is to concentrate on production rather than

service (Bechhofer and Elliott 1981; Whatmore *et al.*1991b; but see Burrows and Curran 1989).

The change in focus is partly due to the importance, scope and continuing publications of the Arkleton Trust project in Europe (see, for example, Fuller 1990). This research project had its origin in concern over the Common Agricultural Policy of the EEC. Policies of subsidies which resulted in widespread agricultural surpluses have led to far-reaching and spatially variable changes in farm household strategies and division of labour (Campagne *et al.* 1990; de Vries 1990; Reis *et al.* 1990). In addition, more tenuous and disputed changes in the economy of Europe expressed in post-Fordist, flexible terms have in some areas led to increased opportunities for non- farm work in rural areas, to the extent that the focus has moved to rural and urban processes at work in areas which contain agriculture. This focal shift has led to six principal emphases:

1. a movement away from studying agriculture as the main activity in an area to studying the extent to which agriculture retains its primary role in households and in areas and to studying 'people who also work in agriculture' (Pugliese 1991: 142);
2. the increasing importance of this pluriactivity, and a development of conceptualisation from part-time farming, with the accent on farming, through pluriactivity as a rural concept as defined by the Arkleton Trust ['the phenomenon of farming in conjunction with another gainful activity, whether on- or off-farm' (Mackinnon *et al.* 1991)], and extended to pluriactivity as a conceptual link between households in general and capitalism (Pugliese 1991; Le Heron 1991);
3. the recomposition of agricultural employment in relation to changes occurring in the roles of employers, small farmers and agricultural labourers (Friedland and Pugliese 1989; Pugliese 1991);
4. the role of women on farms and in rural employment in general (Whatmore 1991a, b);
5. the role of small businesses in rural areas (Whatmore *et al.*1991b), the nature of ties between small businesses including farming and restructuring capital, and the question of where in the relationship accumulation occurs (Friedland and Pugliese 1989; Jussila *et al.* 1992); and
6. the restructuring of rural life and society seen in and affected by all the above changes, and its expression in rural places and differential use of space (Marsden *et al.* 1990b; Mormont 1990; Cloke 1991; Cloke and Goodwin 1992; Marsden 1992).

These issues, incorporating the three questions listed earlier about non-standard work, will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter and Ch. 8. Since these issues are overdetermined, discussion will move back and forth between related aspects and between empirics and theoretical considerations.

7.4.1 Small businesses in Spring Bay

Figure 7.6 summarises the nature of small businesses (under 50 workers) in Spring Bay. (There are only three private sector enterprises with more than 50 employees in the municipality, none of them family owned.) The data differ from some in Ch. 5 in focussing on the enterprises and on those working together in different capacities, so that working employers are included. In addition, the list includes enterprises on the basis of second or third jobs. The data represent the numbers working at the time of the survey, and some would vary seasonally. Forty four enterprises are associated with the economically active in the sample, and of these only three are outside the municipality, two non-family owned in Hobart and one owned and operated by a single individual in a neighbouring municipality. The 41 enterprises in Spring Bay therefore represent a marked degree of local concentration particularly as only two are not family businesses; one is a cooperative and the other owned by two unrelated Hobart businessmen.

In eight enterprises all workers are family members, in 30 family and employees work alongside each other in various informal organisational and power structures, and in one, owned by extended family members, a member of one nuclear family manages the enterprise with another working in a different role in the enterprise. Family firms, and particularly those with less than ten working in them, are thus of great significance in the municipality. Approximately 20 per cent are farming enterprises, and 63 per cent are service enterprises, including log truck firms which are contracted ultimately to the major manufacturing employer. The only professional firm in the sample is included as miscellaneous to maintain anonymity.

If all the links to small businesses of household members are added, only one enterprise outside the municipality is added but the number of local enterprises rises from 41 to 56 with the inclusion of four farms, one logger (nominally self-employed), one fishing enterprise, one manufacturing enterprise, three construction firms, one transport, three retail and one miscellaneous service, all but one with less than five workers. The proportion of farming to service enterprises remains approximately the same at 21: 61.

This analysis indicates the importance not only of <u>family</u> businesses but also of <u>small</u> businesses, with almost 90 per cent of those associated either with members of the sample or their households having less than ten people working in them, and more than 70 per cent less than five. It also indicates the local importance of <u>service</u> businesses which in the literature appear to have been neglected between an earlier emphasis on farming enterprises and a recent stress on production enterprises. Although the small business with the largest number of workers is in the service sector (in hospitality), 56 per cent of businesses associated with members of the sample are service enterprises with less than five workers. This significance of small, family service businesses has further implications beyond numbers of workers and thus local employment.

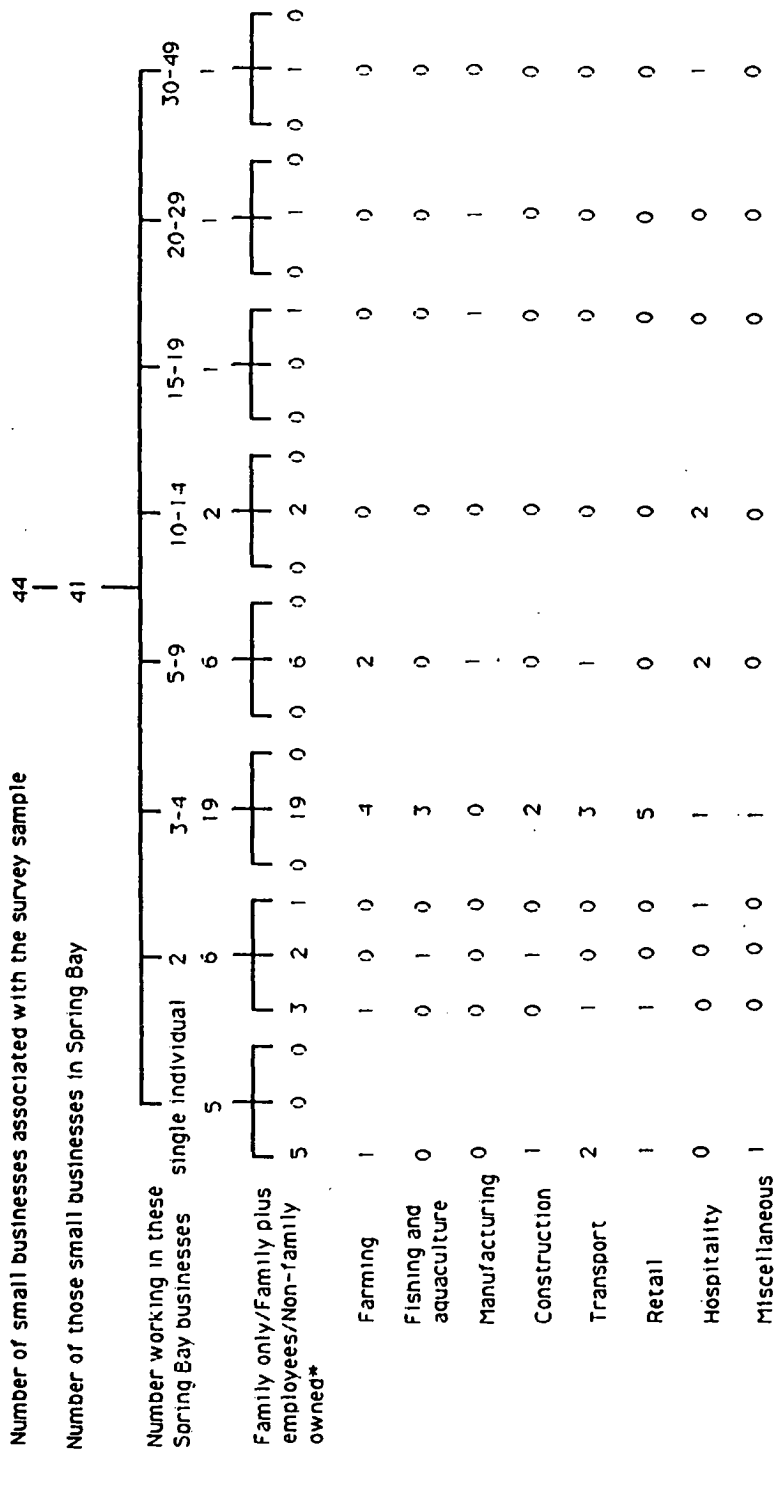


Fig .7.6 Details of small businesses in Spring Bay associated with the survey sample

The implicitly personal nature of industrial relations has two noticeable effects. One is on the rate of job change; there is considerable movement around in the small business sector to find a compatible employer ('I guess I stirred him too much so I had to leave') and on the other hand much hiring of new staff is by invitation based on information from the local 'grapevine'. This is reflected in many people's labour market experience. A male history might include 'working for my Dad' for a couple of years after leaving school, trying work on the fishing boats (i.e. deckhand), a bit of casual driving and then settling down either with a compatible employer or deciding to become self-employed; those with trade qualifications move round a different circuit but many move nevertheless, and often have moved out and in to the area again. Several women in the sample had an extensive history of casual work and had worked at the current and previous fish processors, in shops and service stations, and in various capacities in pubs and hotels. Those with qualifications, mainly in teaching and nursing, had not changed employer as much but some had taken their organisational skills into the private sector as entrepreneurs, on the principle that 'if you can cope with a class of kids you can organise anything'. On the other hand, those who had found their niche tended to stay.

Secondly and related to personalised industrial relations is the issue of union membership; 50 per cent of all workers in the employee category in the sample are not members of a trade union. Those who are union members fall into quite distinct categories: award workers at APPM Triabunna, state employees, and within the small business sector, self-employed or employers in log-trucking who as members of the ECLHA are affiliated to the TWU, and employees of one fish processing concern. Those who are not union members are staff employees of APPM Triabunna and Industrial Fish, casual state employees in ancillary capacities, and employees in small businesses. A few respondents were not sure if they are union members. Gender appears to be a factor only in relation to full-time or casual employment; there are fewer female union members because of the number of women non-standard employees. The small business group is therefore insulated from formal industrial relations, and although most pay the award rate, conditions of work tend to be negotiable. This is not to imply exploitation; in most cases, there is a well understood trade-off (as found in Doeringer 1984) between valued employees (who may be being paid above award rates and given extra fringe benefits) and employers over extra hours at busy times and time off for family or sporting occasions and work-related functions such as agricultural shows.

Within the range of small business, there is considerable variation in viability, profitability and opportunities for accumulation and the reproduction of the enterprise. Some consideration of this variation must be related to pluriactivity and to the nature of links to capital, but at this point it can be said that four groups can be tentatively identified. Virtually all have shown some recent reduction in income but there are enterprises with an unacceptable level of bank overdraft, 'hanging on' at a level of plain

living but little cash, attempting to ride out the recession or the current effects of restructuring; there are those breaking even (i.e. no profit but no loss and the household needs met from other sources); there are some which produce a modest living but little chance of growth; and there are a few with good profits and what appears to be a secure future.

7.4.2 Pluriactivity

To look first at pluriactivity from the point of view of farm households,the family farms display a variety of coping strategies in off-farm employment in the state service, in agricultural work (shearing, fencing and woolclassing), and in trades, and virtual subsistence. A further option, open only to the older, well-established farmers with larger farms or other sources of income, is to subsidise current operations from past investments. Most of the off-farm work is associated with the smaller farms, and there appears to be a minimum size, varying with the ratio of bush pasture to improved pasture, to survive current conditions without off-farm employment. The three poorest farms, (in money terms not quality of life), have a common problem of being too small to be commercially viable (one leased, one originally a soldier settlement dating back to 1919 and one subdivided in a legacy). The Tasmanian Department of Primary Industry is specifically promoting off-farm employment, if only as a means to financial relief through benefit payments:

> The asset test refers to a net figure, that is, the present day value of your land, buildings, stock and machinery less all debts (liabilities), less the value of your dwelling and the surrounding two hectares. If the net figure is below $157,500 you should consider applying for Job Search if one member is prepared to accept off-farm employment. ... [I]f you think you may be eligible, it is important that you first apply for work with the Commonwealth Employment Service and then register with Social Security for the Job Search Allowance (Greenhill 1992).

None of the farms associated with the sample had reached this stage in 1991, and the only government transfer payments are family allowances and age pension. There appear to be two principal reasons, apart from the inherent independence of the farming community, for this, both associated with the nature of agriculture. The first may be summarised as follows:

> ... [w]hile in principle the family farm may be assumed to be like any other family enterprise such as a shop or workshop, the biological nature of farm production processes makes it distinctive in so far as it implies the *potential* for direct subsistence from the labour process (Whatmore 1991b: 145).

Here it becomes necessary to move to the wider definition of pluriactivity as 'the multiple formal and informal sector activities of households and household members' (Le Heron 1991: 26). In farm households it is hard to distinguish between the contribution of substantive farm activities to production and reproduction. For example a farm household may be producing lambs some of which go to household consumption, some for sale and some for future breeding or future provision of wool; making diversifications which contribute

both to household consumption and to sale, such as growing a cash crop or cutting firewood; growing fruit and vegetables purely for the household; and making use of the products of a leisure activity such as fishing or spinning wool from some of the farm's own fleeces. In addition, the formal/informal dichotomy is hard to sustain; for example a paid employee may be assigned in a slack period to mend the fence of the vegetable garden, or the butchering of meat for the household may be done by employed labour or by family members in work or leisure time, if they can be so divided. Whatmore (1991) emphasises this general point in her critique of the dualistic conception of production and reproduction, and particularly

> ...where domestic labour, as non-commoditised labour, is characteristic of all household members' labour, across agricultural as well as subsistence production, and is not restricted to women's 'domestic' work (Whatmore 1991b: 39).

Diversification of activities on the farms associated with the sample include commercial fruit growing, home vegetable gardens, commercial production of swedes, keeping of pigs, poultry, milking cows and goats for home produce, setting of fishing nets and cray pots on coastal farms and the production and perhaps sale of firewood. There are no examples of on-farm catering, either for coach tours or for overnight tourists, which figures in much of the European literature and exists elsewhere in Tasmania.

Self-provisioning is often more important than off-farm employment; the amalgam of activities may be less for motives of thrift but for a valued way of life. On the other hand it may be almost subsistence existence in an area where there is little opportunity for off-farm work except for occasional farming contract work.

The second reason for local farmers not yet resorting to help from social security is that, in the short term, there are options open to family farmers in relation to both the labour process and the labour market. It is possible to defer planned routine (not new) activities, to the extent of 30 per cent of the true cost of production, but only as an interim measure. This may make it possible to shed existing waged labour, but this would be a last resort as good agricultural labour is hard to find. Other strategies include taking part-time work to help with household running costs, taking a cut in the salary which partners pay themselves out of the business and living on other assets, including family allowance and overdrafts.

There are problems in discussing the pluriactive strategies of households in a small community. Since each situation is a unique combination of life cycle, family members and extended family networks, patterns of paid employment and income, housing type, capital resources such as land, tools and vehicles, skills, interests and leisure activities, an individual pattern in a case study may be identifiable and breach assurances of confidentiality. Some of the patterns in specific variables have been examined in Ch. 6

but it is the inter-relationship of many variables in the decision-making that is crucial. Case studies are ruled out, and ideal type profiles are also dangerous in a small community as an actual situation might unwittingly be described. It is, however, possible with care to group typical household situations; these should be based on an explicit procedure rather than an intuitive approach, although the role of intuition can not be excluded.

First, an indicator was constructed to give some picture of household involvement in self-provisioning and self-servicing (DIY). Twenty-six items from the last section of the questionnaire, excluding items concerning childcare and items such as vacuuming, shopping or washing up where analysis in Ch. 6 has demonstrated that the local community as represented in the sample does not regard these as commodified, and items such as barbecuing which had been included as part of gender considerations. These 26 services and goods were examined, in the 52 households in the sample with both senior male and senior female present, to see if they were provided/obtained within the household, ignoring the questions of by whom. Any item recorded as 'not applicable' was subtracted from the total 26, and a percentage of the resulting total calculated. This provides a crude indicator of amount of self-servicing and self-provisioning, not in absolute terms but relative to the community as represented by the sample. The lowest and highest groups in the frequency diagram in Fig. 7.7 were then examined for common factors.

The ten households which emerged with the lowest indication of self servicing and self-provisioning (13-46) fell into two broad groups, married couples working together in small businesses and single persons living on their own or as the only adult in the household, within a broad range of income and housing tenure. Other data suggest that time and money are the principal determinants. The small business people have little spare time, especially if they 'live on the job' and often regard their enterprise as a hobby/interest as well as a job. In addition, they and their children, if any, may be fed and cared for in various ways through the business facilities, especially in the hospitality industry. Within the singles group, for single parents employed full-time time is at a premium, while the one person households in general were not lacking in money, and preferred to spend their time on other interests. There is, however, some evidence that lack of domestic skills among the younger singles influenced their lifestyle choices and expenditure.

Among the 12 households with the highest indicators of self-provisioning and servicing, there is immense variety of situation, as shown in Table 7.1 Only five, however, work specified regular hours, the rest having some degree of freedom over their labour process and what is done when. Five of the households are involved with small businesses, including farms, and only one adult is employed at the chip mill. Ten of them own outright the houses in which they are currently living or are buying them through a mortgage. Home ownership is important in several ways: less maintenance work is done

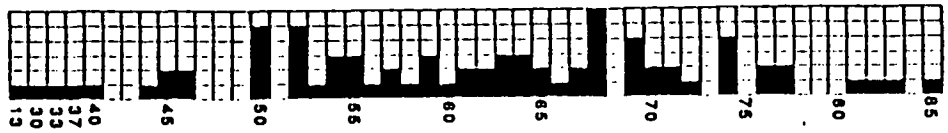


Fig. 7.7 Indication of household involvement in self-provisioning and self-servicing.
N = 84 (numbers refer to the constructed index)

or bought on rented property, but that leaves time for other provisioning activities if desired or necessary. All but two of the households have one or more adults at home at least part of the normal working day/week. This includes spouses without paid employment, retired people, part-timers, unemployed and shift workers. (Although these latter are employed full-time, several, not necessarily in the group under discussion, offered the opinion that they get all sorts of jobs done when they are on the late shift.) Possibly the most significant points arising from this group are that income appears to be a minor variable and that a wide range of skills is an asset. For some, self-provisioning and servicing may be a necessary means of making a pension go further, but for others it represents a chosen and satisfying way of life; the skills necessary to implement that way of life have come from a variety of sources, among them family background and upbringing, vocational training, self-education and previous employment.

If the same range of households with both senior male and female is examined for relationships of other factors and strategies, the variety of combinations becomes more apparent. For the group as a whole (54 households), self servicing and self-provisioning is more important than for the group of 84 from which the indicators were calculated: 30 of the 54 households had an indicator score above average, and this included all of the top four values; 16 of the 54 were below average. If employment strategies of which partner or partners work full time are linked to status of the household in relation to children as well as to the self servicing and self-provisioning indicator (Fig. 7.8), the conclusion can be drawn that a substantial group, 68 per cent of those households with one spouse at home full-time or where one spouse works less than five hours per week are more involved than the average (for the whole household sample) in self servicing and self-provisioning. It is also clear that in no household with the youngest child under school age is the wife working full-time.

Table 7.1 Characteristics of households with a high indication of self-provisioning and self-servicing

Household	Indicator of SP & SS	Number of adults	Number of children	Number of adult jobs	Social transfer payments	Wife of working age at home	Retired or unemployed adults at home	Household income group	Regular hours of work	Own small business	Own house outright	Mortgage	Domestic skills*	Construction skills*	Vehicle skills*
A	75	4	-	4	-	P	-	9	-	•	-	•	•	-	-
B	75	3	-	1	2	-	2	8	•	-	•	-	•	-	-
C	75	4	-	3	-	•	-	5	• •			•	•		•
D	75	2	-	2	-	-	-	7	-	• •	•	-	-	•	-
E	77	2	-	-	2	•	2	3	-	-	•	-	-	•	-
F	77	3	-	-	1	-	3	3	-	-	•	-	-	-	•
G	78	2	3	1	-	•	-	7	•	-	-	-	•	-	-
H	82	2	2	1.8	-	P	-	8	• •	•	-	•	-	-	•
I	83	2	-	1.2	-	P	-	4	-	-	•	-	•	-	•
J	83	2	-	-	-	-	2	6	-	-	•	-	•	•	-
K	84	2	1	1.1	-	P	-	5	-	•	•	-	•	•	•
L	86	3	-	3	-	-	-	7	•	•	-	-	•	-	-

*: the household rates highly on these skills in the indicator, although it is possible that members of households have skills in these areas which are not covered in the questionnaire

SP &SS: self-provisioning and self=servicing

P: part-time or small business wife living on job

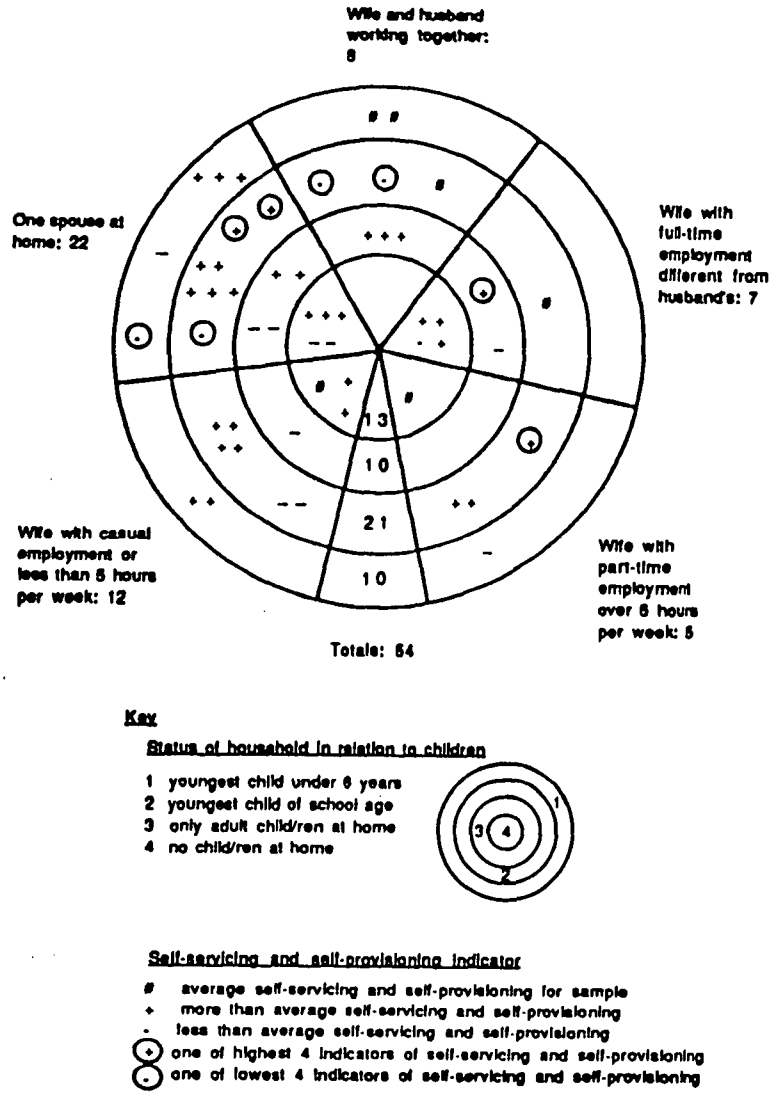


Fig. 7.8 Households containing senior male and female, showing links between employment decisions, status in relation to children, and indicators of self servicing and self-provisioning

If the same employment strategies are viewed in relation to the employment status of the main income earner and to housing strategies (Fig. 7.9), it becomes apparent that the majority (80 per cent) of those owning their homes outright are in the same two groups with regard to decisions made about employment. Husbands and wives working together in family businesses are all involved in mortgages, and their self servicing and self-provisioning activities vary from the lowest to more than average, which from other evidence varies with the particular demands and perquisites of different small businesses. State employees include some of the highest levels of self servicing and self-provisioning, partly related to the timetable of rural schools, where the necessity for school buses entails a short lunch break and an early finish to the school day.

If the same employment strategies are viewed (Fig. 7.10) in relation to the employment status of the main income earner and to annual household income before tax (bearing in

mind reservations expressed earlier that this latter is only an approximation) it becomes apparent that 22 of the 52 households (42 per cent) are managing on a cash income before tax which is less than the average full-time male wage in Tasmania of $29 000 per year at the time of interviewing. The fact that 44 per cent, 14 out of the 32 households with one spouse at home full-time or where one spouse works less than five hours per week come into this category is also important. Other evidence suggests that for the majority, the decision for one spouse to stay at home or take a minor amount of employment outside the home is one taken deliberately for reasons of principle, although a minority would prefer to be able to find employment or or increased employment outside the home. The importance of self servicing and self-provisioning in this context would seem self-evident, but Fig. 7.10 shows that this is not so, and one of the lowest indicators of self servicing and self-provisioning is linked to a household income of between $340 and $460 per week. Fig. 7.10 raises some interesting points about groups within the community. Most apparent is the relative prosperity of state employees, and to a lesser extent APPM's employees, especially compared with the lower end of the group where the main income earner is the owner or a partner in a small business. Within the own business or partner group, household cash incomes range from between $115 and $140 per week ($140 per week being the single over 21 unemployment benefit at the time of interviewing) to levels considerably higher than the highest on the interview scale, but 11 out of 23, almost half, were below the average full-time male wage in Tasmania of $29 000 per year at the time of interviewing.

The permutations and combinations of formal and informal 'somewhat economic' activities of households, both as groups and as individuals, emerging from this examination serve to emphasise their multiplicity. Indeed they might be used to illustrate the postmodern claim that

> [r]eality is a puzzle, a patchwork of infinite complexity, an eclectic kaleidoscope, and the modernist insistence on generalities is an arrogant fantasy (Warf 1992: 591).

But some generalities do become manifest. Is it entirely coincidental and without importance, for example, that the majority of single income households are those associated with employees of small employers? Or that all family businesses in which husband and wife are working together have mortgage repayments to consider? It seems that one school of theory is searching for tendencies and generalities while another is pouring scorn on the possibility of generalisation and in doing so is privileging difference over similarity, against their theoretical tenet of privileging no theory. A more subtle approach seeks for a flexible view encompassing broadly individualistic conceptualisation in some circumstances and one whose degree of orderliness may vary with situation. A realist approach with an emphasis on necessary and contingent relations gives the possibility of that combination.

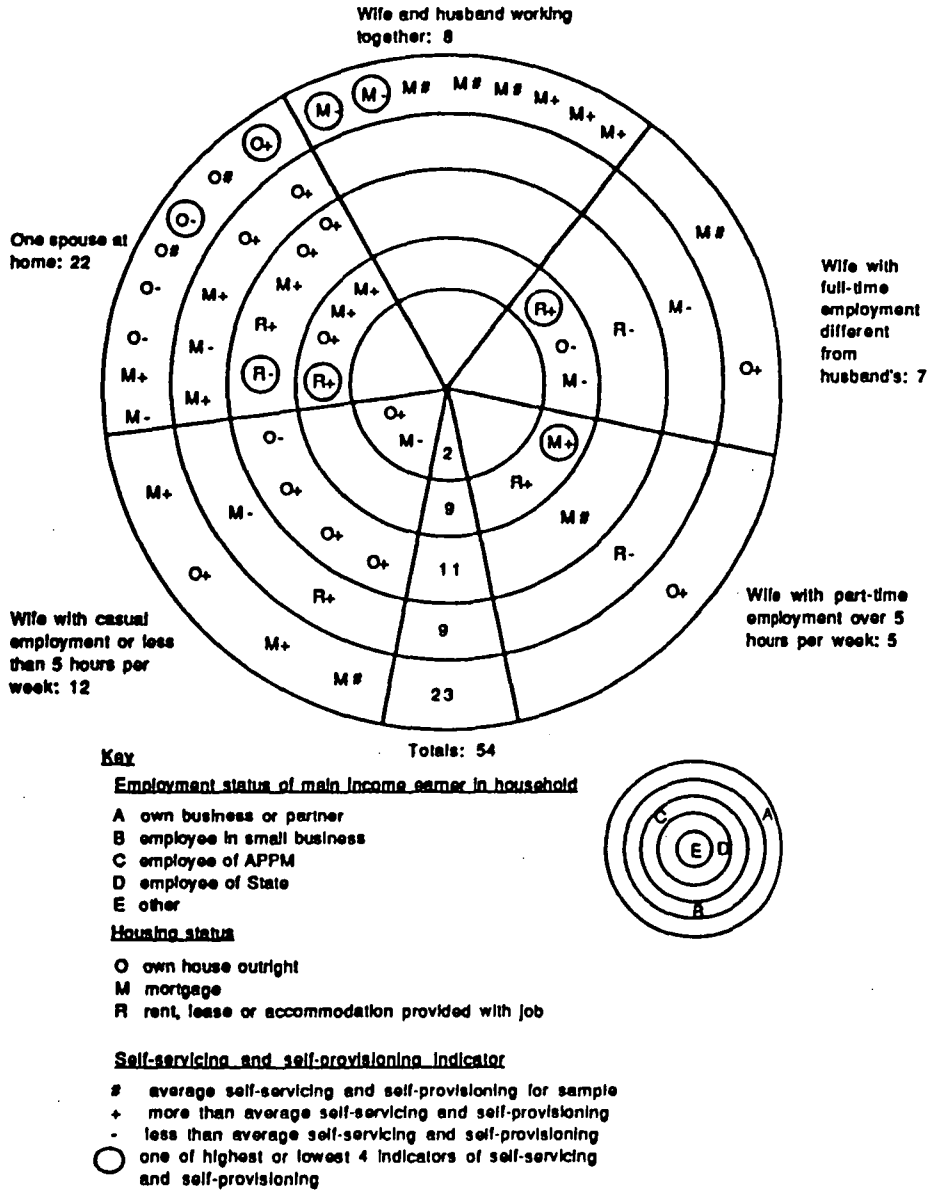


Fig. 7.9 Households containing senior male and female, showing links between employment decisions, status of main income earner, housing status, and indicators of self servicing and self-provisioning

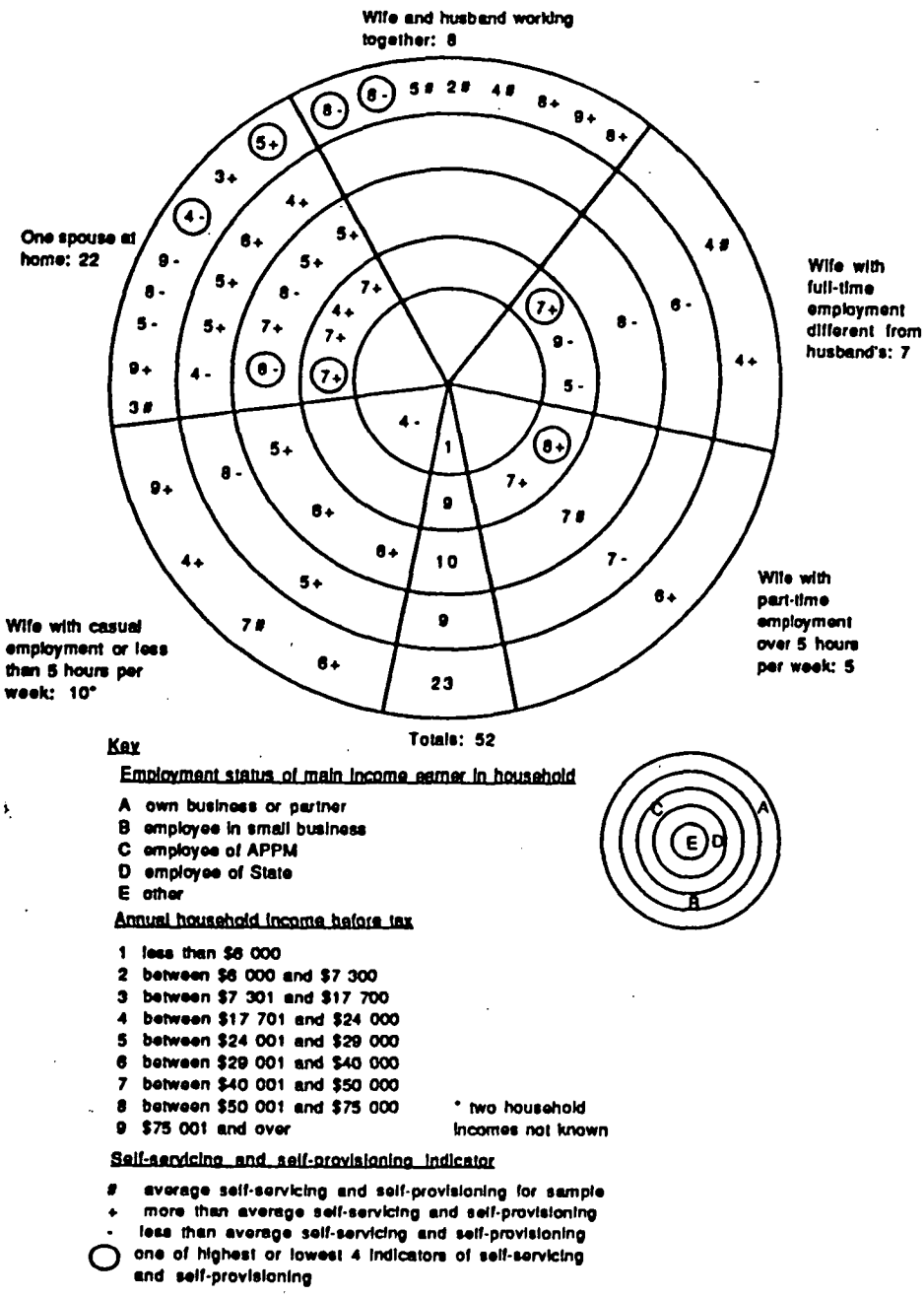


Fig. 7.10 Households containing senior male and female, showing links between employment decisions, status of main income earner, annual household income before tax, and indicators of self servicing and self-provisioning

7.4.3 Generalisations

None of the groupings in the discussion above can be completely discrete. The nature of the local labour market means that some households will have members employed by the major employer and/or by the state and small business, although the nature of the household as a consumption unit may reflect the principal earner's employment. In addition, discussion above centred mainly on the group selected as having senior male and senior female present in the household. Within this group, there are major recognisable contingencies, such as physical or mental disabilities, specifics of religion, ethical values and level of education, and length of residence in the area which must affect decisions - decisions which in some cases are basic to the family's survival as a social unit. Outside of the selected group, 'singleness', whether in relation to single parenthood, the death of a partner, separation or divorce, or never marrying, leads to a different array of choices, decisions and solutions, some of which vary with the presence or absence of dependants and of the wider family.

Current work in rural geography and sociology, drawing partly on the French regulationists and partly on Harvey's (1985) concept of structured coherence (Cloke and Goodwin 1992) ,has argued that non-metropolitan space is not homogeneous nor governed by rurality but that people may behave as if it were. In addition there is the suggestion that previously localised coherence may be being replaced by more fragmented coherences in some non-metropolitan situations. Although Cloke and Goodwin are not viewing their argument at as small a scale as a Tasmanian municipality, nevertheless their attempt to find a framework which will allow interpretation of the relations of production and 'a specific mode of living and of thinking and feeling life' (Gramsci 1971: 302 quoted in Cloke and Goodwin 1992: 327) is relevant to understanding social relations of production and consumption in Spring Bay. Also relevant is the current examination in critiques of postmodernism of the presence/absence motif. It is possible to be 'physically near while spiritually remote' (Shields 1992: 183) and to be part of a 'community' while being physically scattered. Massey (1991a) raises the question of the conflation of 'community' with 'place', arguing that members of communities do not need to live in the same place and that places housing single coherent social groups are probably rare. If the two are not synonymous in the Spring Bay area, in what ways do groups differ and how do they co-exist in space? These two trends of thought come together in the speculation that various groups in Spring Bay have arrived at their own structured coherence, their own accommodation between production and reproduction, or, as that dualism is under attack, between income from all sources and outcome in quality of life and type of lifestyle. In identifying possible groups, employment status of the household seems to be an unavoidable criterion, although it will be tempered by contingency. It might seem that obvious interest groups, such as the very visible log truck drivers who almost form a sub-culture in the area, would form part of such generalisation. In terms, however, of relations

of production and reproduction manifested in pluriactivity, truck drivers have much in common with other self-employed or family businesses in their relations with 'distanced' capital.

In Table 7.2, groups in Spring Bay which appear to have common characteristics in forms of pluriactivity are tentatively identified. This is not seen as economic determinism; within each group is great variety but overall less than would appear by applying criteria such as religion, annual income, educational attainment, affiliation to local recreational clubs or age. Embodied in the major criterion of employment status, however, are refinements so that there is not just a division of employees, but employees of three

Table 7.2 Tentative groupings of households by pluriactivity, based on evidence from the 1991 household survey

Household where all, both or main income earner has/have the characteristics listed below:	Paid regular employ-ment	More than 1 job per house-hold	Casual paid odd jobs	Social transfer payments other than family allow-ances	Self provis-ioning and self servicing
Employees of major employer	•	many	#	-	varies
Employees of small employers	•	few	#	-	•
State employees	•	some	seldom	-	opport-unity high
Family businesses and/or self employed	•	•	often as part of business	-	varies with nature of business
Younger retirees	-	-	some	some	•
Older retirees	-	-	-	some	decreases with age
Modified subsistence	-	-	•	some	•
Are receiving pensions or benefits other than above	-	-	some	•	varies with circumst-ances

Key: • substantial majority
- virtually none
no judgment possible

sorts of enterprises, whose different labour market experience has already been catalogued in Ch. 5. Retirees might have been thought of as one group, or as two according to whether their income derived from private funding or state pensions, but in fact the major differentiation seen in the survey data is age. Modified subsistence is a group which covers households in varying circumstances but in which the main factor is a minimal use of cash. Those receiving pensions other than retirees could be subdivided, but it appears from available evidence that in the short-term, (and many pluriactive decisions are made in the short-term), that coping on a reduced income is the common factor. The causes which make the social transfer payments necessary, whether unemployment, sickness, injury or disability, are found contingently in other households, and may be being dealt with in a variety of ways. It is the main income earner being affected that separates out this group. Finally, there is potential overlap between some groups and placing of an individual is not automatic. This is thus a qualitative and subjective table, which is justified as an attempt to say something about the nexus of choices people make without breaching confidentiality or creating idealised profiles.

These groups are interesting not just from a theoretical point of view but from the purely practical point of view of how they co-exist in space. There are enclaves of different groups but no major zoning beyond the broadly perceived character of the three major settlements, although recent events are perhaps changing this situation. These are groupings in the sense of having similar characteristics but not necessarily being spatially proximate. There are some spheres, such as football, parent-teacher associations and the Rural Fire Brigade, in which members of different groups come together in cooperation. There are others in which a 'live and let live' attitude is possible, and there are areas of tension. Some of these tensions are specific between groups of interests, where what is of benefit to one group is detrimental to another; others are different attitudes to problems such as conservation and development or tariffs and interest rates, where global and national issues have local expression and specificity.

The much quoted phrase 'level playing field' has little meaning in this context, at this micro-level and even spatially within Spring Bay. These groups have different access to the labour market and through that to housing, education and training, information, health care and superannuation, make different use of resources, have differing degrees of mobility, future paths differing in quality and perceived duration, and both as a cause and a result are differently articulated into local and global settings. Walker's phrase quoted in Ch. 2, 'a mosaic of unevenness' thus comes under scrutiny. Uneven development comes to have a connotation of patterns superimposed <u>on</u> space, while the structurally coherent groups have uneven opportunities <u>in</u> local and global space, and operate as people 'doing things' in creative or destructive tension. In Fig. 7.11, an 'ocular metaphor' (Barnes 1991:

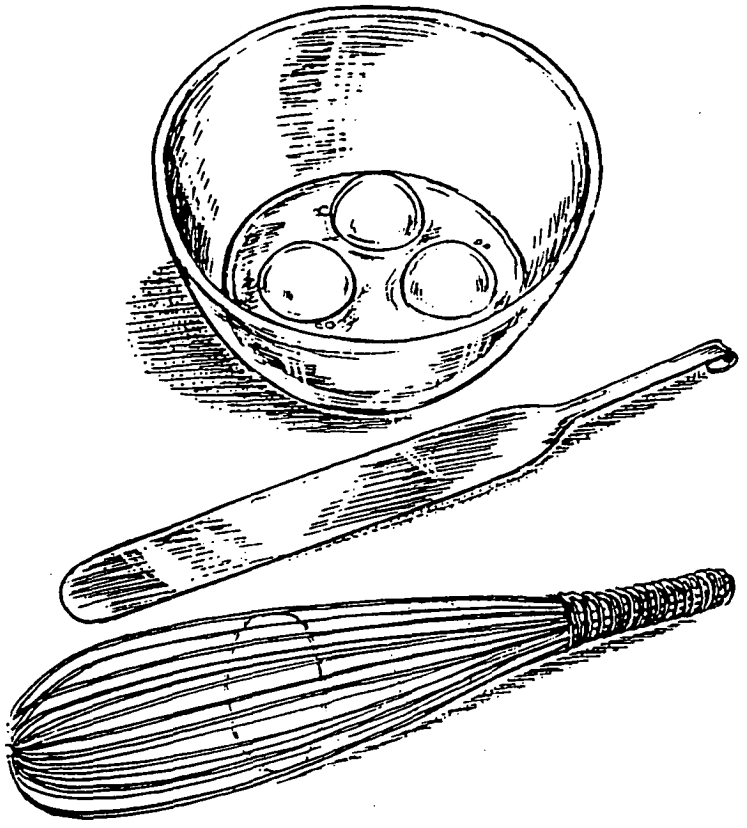


Fig. 7.11 A partial metaphor

112) used by family guidance counsellors can be used to conceptualise different groups operating within a set of social and spatial relations (akin to a glass ceiling in female labour markets), where any change in positioning requires some degree of reflexive movement on the part of others, and the addition or subtraction of a group leads to major adjustment. This metaphor, however, only conceptualises the effect of groups on each other and the potential of outside influences, and not the effect of the groups on local space.

In Ch. 8, the construction of local space by some of these conflicting interests is examined, while more abstract associated themes are discussed in Ch. 9.

CHAPTER 8 THE LOCAL CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE

Chs 5 and 6 detail some of the findings of the 1991 survey of labour market experience and household coping strategies in Spring Bay. Ch. 5 provides a certain amount of evidence in support of the restructuring thesis principally formulated by Massey in the early 1980s, which put forward a somewhat deterministic argument that local economic and social structures are best explained by the position of a place in the spatial division of labour. The changes taking place at the major employer in Spring Bay are an attempt to remain competitive against other changes occurring in relation to the sale of woodchips to Japan, which depend on a complex mix of political, corporate and resource factors as well as the spatial division of labour *per se*. The changes have taken two forms: the reorganisation of work practices and industrial relations which have entailed some shedding of labour; and attempts to alter the composition of capital in relation to the contracting system for felling and transporting timber on the basis that the company can not quarantine inefficiencies. It would be easy to regard these changes as occurring in response to structural forces, with individuals simply experiencing them passively or reacting and adjusting to them. Indeed, this is an important part of what has occurred; people are reacting and adjusting. But in doing so, and in some cases reacting against what is happening, they can be seen as acting more as pro-active free agents than as reactive puppets. Savage (1991) points out the possibilities in his critique of Bagguley *et al.* (1990) which uses detailed material from a single place (Lancaster) in an attempt to illuminate a range of broader issues, suggesting that the interviews could have been used

> ... to look at people's labour market strategies or how they construct careers out of whatever employment opportunities there are, and how in the process they might shape the labour market itself (Savage 1991: 422).

All workers in the Spring Bay area, however, are not tied in to the economy in the same way, not everyone has constructed a lifestyle completely dependent on global linkages, and not everyone can obtain paid employment, whether by choice or not. In this peripheral area it is possible tentatively to identify more or less discrete groups of people who have made different accommodations between income and consumption, which co-exist with a certain amount of conflict and competition but with a degree of mutual tolerance. These groups are tentatively set out at the end of Ch. 7. In this chapter, some of the ways in which different groups are linked into wider structures are examined, and a case is made for the role of space in household decision making.

One of the potential strengths as well as potential weaknesses of geography is its mud-on-the-boots, down-to-earth, grass roots preoccupation with empirical data. Such an emphasis in human geography, however, has led in the past to accusations of anecdotalism, descriptive accounts and the new empiricism. Recently, though, the trend has been towards criticism that data do not come alive in reporting work based on

qualitative research (see, for example, Gregson 1990 reviewing Cooke 1989; Domosh 1991 reviewing Mackenzie 1989). Savage (1991) (reviewing Bagguley *et al.* 1990 and Harloe *et al.* 1990) goes further in commenting on problems in the presentation of evidence:

> [g]enerally the evidence provided by the authors never quite manages to live up to the acuity of their theoretical preambles. It is either rather speculative or is based around strictly quantitative data presented in tabular form (Savage 1991: 421).

No claim is made here for theoretical acuity, but the general problem of presentation is a real one. Chs 5 and 6 use the tabular, quantitative approach. In a detailed intensive approach, however, it is virtually impossible to forget that these percentages only have reality in terms of the people they represent, even while they are providing windows on to wider processes. Similarly, the underlying structures have been constructed by people; they are socially produced relationships not 'mechanisms', even if the term is used metaphorically. A further criticism that is being made of the current round of writing up of British locality research projects from the late 1980s is that there is a tendency to explain at length how complicated things are and how inter-related everything is without finding a meaningful entry point. A start can be made with everyday life lived by real people making shrewd, common sense decisions, or perhaps making ill-judged decisions based on incomplete information, both of which have further social and spatial repercussions.

To say that people are making decisions implies that they have a choice, even if it can subsequently be argued that the choice is more apparent than real in certain respects. Geographers should be asking *where* people have the opportunity of choice, both in spatial and systemic terms; whether and how different individuals and groups have different degrees of choice; what structures are affected and to what degree by the exercise of choice; how choices in productive and reproductive activities affect where jobs are created; and what sorts of jobs are created. In the next sections these questions are addressed in relation to Spring Bay.

8.1 The location of decisions

'The geography of place, in all senses of the word, is ultimately shaped locally' (Le Heron *et al.*: 16) is a thought which requires amplification, tying it in with choice and linkages to investigate at a commonsense level how some of the characteristics of local place are constructed. There appears to be sufficient evidence of some aspects of everyday life and social space without becoming involved at this stage in *habitus, locale* and similar mystifications. The relation between everyday life and social space is problematic, and the gender aspects of it will be discussed in Ch. 9 but for the present, it will be regarded as gender neutral:

> Lefebvre defined everyday life as "whatever remains after one has eliminated all specialized activities" ... The phrase 'everyday space' evokes similar images of the 'ordinary'; places such as the street and the home, which are the familiar setting of our day-to-day lives. ... Lefebvre sometimes used the term 'social space' as a synonym for everyday life, [and it has been] argued that it "can be understood as a kind of recoding of his initial concept of everyday life " that acknowledges that everyday life "is primarily ... a spatial concept" (Bonnett 1992: 69).

The ways in which place is shaped by everyday local decisions and what structures are affected by the exercise of decision making may be partially understood by looking at the choices, structures, processes and linkages involved in obtaining goods and services. Qualifiers such as 'partially understood' and 'some of' are an inevitable part of a broad discussion even of a small area. There is no way in which a discussion can cover the overdetermined aspects of everyday life which occur in and make up the experience and construction of place, but it is possible initially to examine some of the interwoven strands in the spirit of a recently retired quantitative geographer's assertion in a farewell paper:

> We have to be willing to be naïve where specialist sciences are strong, knowing that we are sophisticated where they are weak (Curry 1991: 2).

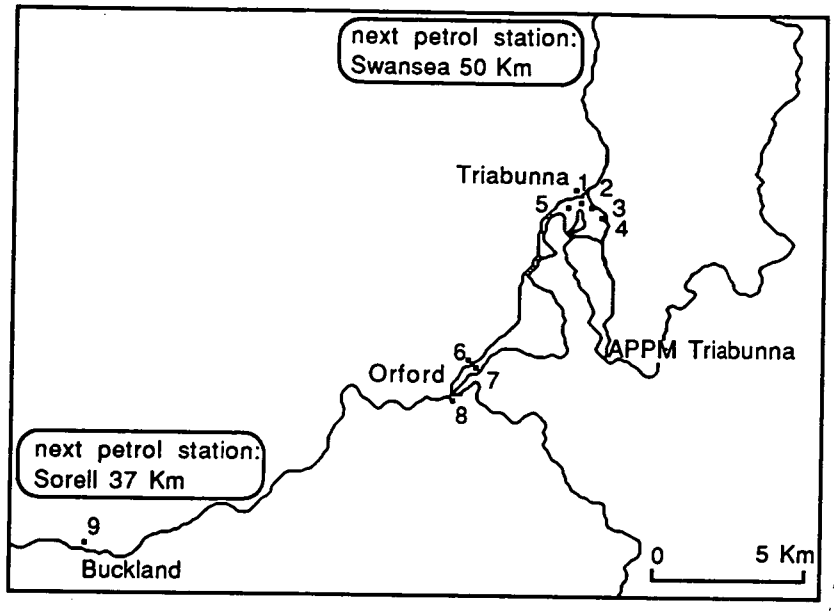
This is not false naïveté here but a deliberate attempt to look at simple activities in a specific place and to see the relations behind them. Sayer observes pertinently that

> ... [t]he fact that the decisions made elsewhere include not only those made in the headquarters of multinationals but also in the everyday purchasing choices made by ordinary consumers is ignored (Sayer 1992: 354).

Initially the effects of decisions made in obtaining three sorts of goods are examined: in buying petrol, in choosing a pub and in households' normal shopping activities.

8.1.1 The effects of decisions in petrol buying in Spring Bay

It is an observed fact that oil companies in Australia do not conduct advertising campaigns based on their petrol; rather they concentrate on oils, service and offers available at service station 'shops'. In southern Tasmania in particular this is rational as petrol is delivered to all company tanks at Selfs Point in Hobart from a single tanker from the Geelong refinery, whatever additives may then be incorporated. Distillate and lead-free petrol come in separate sections of the tanker. The fuels are then distributed by road tankers to depots, service stations and bowsers in a variety of situations. In Spring Bay there are nine outlets selling petrol, under a variety of social relations between oil company, distributor and selling agent (Fig. 8.1). Two of the outlets are distributors as well as retailers, both strategically placed on the access road to APPM Triabunna, but also supplying farms and fishing boats. Two are independently owned, and free to choose or change their supplier, and the rest are tied to the various companies through leases and franchises.



No.	Company	Location	Enterprises
1	BP	Tasman Highway, Triabunna	Taylormade Engineering and Service Station
2	Caltex	Tasman Highway, Triabunna	Service Station and Restaurant
3	Shell	Chipmill Road, Triabunna	Service Station and Depot, Metco Oil Pty Ltd
4	Ampol	Chipmill Road, Triabunna	Distributor, SR and PE Clements and Son Pty Ltd
5	Ampol	4 Vicary Street, Triabunna	Service Station and Caravan Park, A grade mechanic
6	Independent	Tasman Highway, Orford	Fish and Chip Restaurant and Take-away Petrol supplied by Tasfuel Pty Ltd
7	Independent	Tasman Highway, Orford	Orford Roadhouse with Service Station. Petrol supplied by Norvac, distributors for Mobil
8	Caltex	Charles Street, Orford	Service Station and Video Hire
9	Shell	Main Road, Buckland	Roadhouse with Service Station and Shop

Fig. 8.1 Petrol outlets in Spring Bay, May 1992

Thus all are tied into the global oil market and the marketing and distribution strategies of five major oil companies. Given that all outlets sell basically the same petrol, their chances of viability depend on a mixture of spatial and human factors. The spatial factors also relate to tailoring people's choices through location on the main east coast highway or not, and to some extent on the left or the right side of the road for casual traffic pulling in. These, and fleet credit cards, possibly relate more to passing traffic, whose contribution to the local service station economy is important, according to interviewees. The local community, however, buys its petrol according to a complex set of considerations. These include family relationships, friends, perceptions of friendly and efficient service, price, discounts and accounts, opening hours, credit cards and ancillary services. In addition, some of the farming community have the option of using their own bowser if they invest in a car running on diesel fuel and in that case deal directly with the distributors, as do operators of commercial fishing vessels who require the presence of the tanker on the wharf. Many of the community visiting Hobart weigh up at which end of the journey it is more economical to fill up, especially in periods of discount wars in the city.

The totality of these individual decisions spread over the nine outlets is just one part of the local construction of place. During the industrial dispute in 1991, when the log trucks supplying APPM Triabunna were off the road for a month, the situation was seen as a tough reality, and there was speculation about the future of some of the outlets. Not only had enterprises to cover their ongoing basic costs such as franchising fees, in which process the ancillary activities became more important, but they had to take decisions about shedding casual staff and reducing inventory. In a tense and polarised social situation, the operators of some of the outlets walked a very fine line in not alienating different segments of the community. In the period since the dispute, two of the then eight outlets have attempted to reduce their vulnerability by adding to their diversification, and one independent operator has sold to a successor who has gone over to Ampol, but a ninth outlet with a fleet card facility has been added to an engineering works very dependent on local truck maintenance work.

The local community is dependent on vehicles of many sorts (only three out of the interview sample did not have a car and many households had multiple vehicles for convenience, work and leisure). Nevertheless, the needs of both the community and passing traffic could be met by fewer specialised outlets. The current spread of nine outlets principally along the main highway is indicative of the exercise of choice within a capitalist framework which adds a distinctive chain of similar yet different enterprises along the main highway, and provides a certain amount of both casual and skilled employment, and opportunity for varied accumulation by local entrepreneurs. The relationship between place, local entrepreneurs, customers and the global economy is differently constructed in the case of pubs and hotels.

8.1.2 The effects of decisions in the public house industry in Spring Bay

None of the five very different drinking places in Spring Bay is a tied house, owned and managed or leased out by a brewery. In Tasmania such public houses are now only profitable in the main cities. Four are family businesses and the fifth is run by a managing partner. All, nevertheless, are affected by wider issues in buying and selling beer and other beverages. The Cascade Brewery Company has more than 80 per cent of the Tasmanian market (published estimates vary and this represents the lowest) and all local pubs carry Cascade products. Recently the company, through its then New Zealand owners Wilson Neill, has been aiming at expanding into the mainland and overseas market. One of its strategies has been a new upmarket premium lager launched with heavy advertising, and promotions through American Express. The owner of one local hotel, explaining why he does not stock it, said that his clientele would not pay the higher price. The perceptions and demands of his regular customers not only affect what he stocks but the ambience of the place, and both of these influence who else patronises his establishment. Thus the local market is segmented. There is one small, quiet, traditional pub which is popular with the farming community of the west of the area and especially on Friday nights attracts clients from outside the Spring Bay area looking for a quiet counter tea. Another is almost exclusively a 'local' public bar in which visitors feel out of place. A large newer enterprise is more welcoming to passing trade, and there is a 'fisherman's pub', while the tavern at a holiday resort is also open to non-residents (Fig. 8.2).

In the current climate of recession and of changes in the brewing trade and in legal requirements and social conventions regarding drink-driving, none of the local pubs can rely for profit solely on the drinks trade, even if there are bottle shop sales as well. As with the petrol stations, owners have combined a variety of synergetic money earning activities (for a European view of such diversification strategies in a peripheral region see Jussila *et al.* 1992 and Persson 1987). The principal ones are motel facilities, counter lunches, catering facilities for coach parties, rooms for social functions and meetings of clubs such as Rotary, TAB (Totalizator Agency Board) facilities, convention facilities, sports facilities available to residents and non-residents, satellite television live sports coverage and bottle shops (off-licence take away sales). The amount of labour employed varies with the number of other activities as well as the size of the enterprise. Outside of the family, the majority of the employment is casual, as is usual in the hotel trade, and much of it female. The hospitality industry provides much needed female employment in the area and in turn is able to keep its costs lower by the strategic use of casual labour.

Nevertheless, the input of family labour into these enterprises is significant, and adds another perspective to the importance of small employers/self-employed in a marginal area with little tourist development. The integration into the commercial world has come

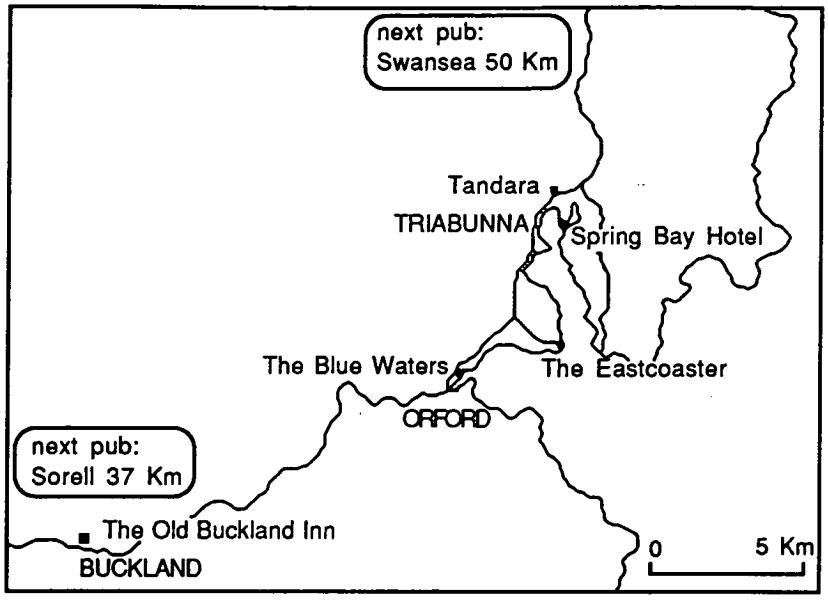


Fig. 8.2 Hotels, motels and public houses in Spring Bay, May 1992

a long way since the home-brewed and relatively immobile days of the 1830s and 1840s when there were 11 inns in the coastal part of the present municipality (Reid 1978).

To some degree, this example illustrates the fact that what one section of the community wants or does affects the choices open to others and thus the more general character of the place. This aspect of the local construction of place is more clearly shown by the household shopping decisions of the community.

8.1.3 The effects of decisions in household shopping in Spring Bay

The inhabitants of Spring Bay apparently have a considerable choice in household shopping, and a greater range of goods is available in the area than 15 years ago. In Triabunna, the principal shop is a supermarket which used to belong to the Food Town buying group and now since a rationalisation is part of the Value Plus group. In Orford, there is a supermarket allied to Rite-way and a Food Wizard store which since the rationalisation mentioned above has not allied itself to any buying group. In Buckland the roadhouse sells a restricted range of groceries, and is not part of a buying group. Apart from using these facilities within the area, residents also shop further afield, calculating the trade-off between prices, range of choice and cost of petrol. The opening of a Purity (Woolworth) supermarket in Sorell's Regional Shopping Centre, and the consequent upgrading of the number and variety of the town's shops and services, has had a marked effect on Spring Bay shops, not only for household shopping, but for the greater degree of

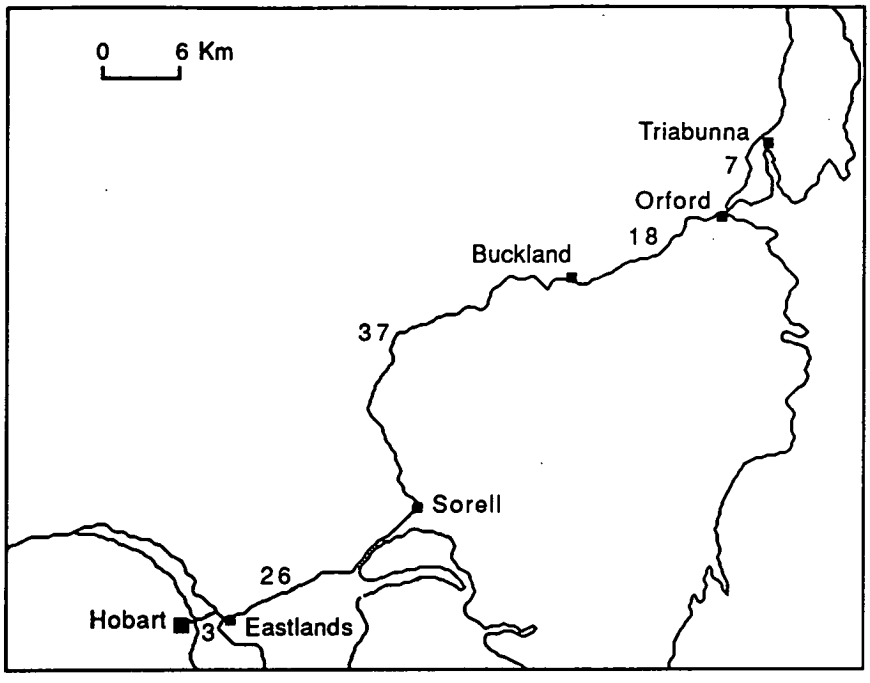


Fig. 8.3 Spring Bay shopping places and distances between them, May 1992

choice possible in, for example, clothes and hardware. Prior to the Purity opening and probably still, some Spring Bay residents shopped once a fortnight or once a month at the Eastlands Shopping Centre at Rosny Park on Hobart's eastern shore, which offers a choice of a Purity supermarket, a Coles supermarket and a K-Mart store. Another choice made in combination with, for example, family, medical or entertainment visits is Hobart's western shore, with a much wider choice of supermarkets, including six Purity supermarkets, six Coles and a K-Mart (Fig. 8.3).

Several things follow from selecting from this range of choice. The first is the equivalent of Massey's assertion that

> ... every time you drive to the out-of-town shopping centre you contribute to the rising prices, even hasten the demise of the corner shop (Massey 1991: 26).

Every time people drive to the supermarket(s) in Sorell, Eastlands or Hobart, they help reduce the range of goods available and contribute to the rising prices in the stores in Spring Bay. This may not be important to those who are mobile and affluent, and who may only use the local shops for milk, bread, ice cream, cigarettes and in emergencies, but it may significantly affect the quality of life of those in the community who have no choice about where they shop. It is a comment on this continuing process that the Orford Riteway store has recently ceased to stock wholemeal flour and the Triabunna drapery store no longer stocks footwear. In Massey's words

> [w]e need to ask ... whether our relative mobility and power over mobility and communication entrenches the spatial imprisonment of other groups (Massey 1991: 26).

The second effect of the exercising of spatial choice in shopping is on employment. The local shopkeepers quoted in Ch. 5 over their inability to offer local employment if the local community shops elsewhere are only part of the picture. The situation contributes to youth unemployment as well as to reduced opportunities for part-time work for married women, and thus forms part of a downward spiral as the local population and so potential buyers are decreased by youth out-migration. In addition, while the volume of customers may decrease, the demand for the shops to be open does not, and proprietors and their families find themselves working long hours with little paid relief affordable. Weekend opening is important in Orford with its shack population, although what the 'shackies' buy locally is selective. Most shops open at weekends are normally staffed by family members because of the prohibitive cost of penalty rates in the retail awards. The net result is a high turnover of owners as they look for an alternative and less labour-intensive way of earning a family living or possibly a more profitable place to do so. One of the Orford stores has had five sets of owners in 15 years; the most vocal of the previous owners told the author that he had 'run himself into the ground' in three years, principally by doing his own freighting from Hobart in an attempt to give local shoppers the same sort of 'specials' as would be available in the city.

No matter where they shop, however, Spring Bay residents are tied into the global economy, not just by the range of goods they buy which are grown and manufactured round the world and distributed by the world's global food corporations, but by the structure of Tasmania's retail food chains. The buying groups such as Rite-way, Food Town and Food Wizard, together with Value Plus, Sam's Cut Price, Fabulous Foodmarkets and Four Square, are part of the distribution network of Northern Cooperative Wholesalers Pty Ltd of Prospect Vale near Launceston (name changed to Tasmanian Independent Wholesalers January 1993); individual proprietors must hold shares in the cooperative but its majority shareholder is Woolworth, the wholly owned subsidiary of the Adelaide Steamship Company which is likely to be floated on the Australian Stock Exchange when conditions are favourable. Woolworth owns not only the Purity supermarket chain, and its southern wholesale network which services Riteway etc, but also now owns both of the cash-and-carry warehouses in Hobart where small shopkeepers such as the manager of the Buckland Roadhouse do their own buying. Coles-Myer, which operates the Coles supermarkets and K-Mart in Tasmania, has its principal interests on the mainland, in New Zealand and in the USA. It appears that in exercising their spatial choice in household shopping, the residents of Spring Bay maintain or destroy the character and facilities of local places, while contributing to a greater or less degree to the

appropriation of surplus value by two large corporations. Self-provisioning, which also works against the local shopkeepers, seems the only alternative to global participation and even then no-one is completely self-sufficient. Most households buy flour, cheese, soap and salt, and most households have been influenced by modern views on the necessity of a good mixed diet, although one interviewee spoke of his demonstrated ability to live for six months on 'a freezer full of flathead' (fish), monotony rating low in his priorities. Paradoxically there are households in Spring Bay where the payment for tea, coffee, cocoa, rice, oranges and bananas is a consideration while the provision of game, gourmet sea foods, nectarines and strawberries is not. Choice thus is constructed locally and is tied to a greater or lesser degree into the capitalist wholesale/retail system in its particular Tasmanian manifestation.

Not all retail networks are like this, with small businesses and individuals mediating between consumers and national or international capital to provide both choice for the consumer and a greater range of local employment for the providers of goods and services. Retail banking, for example, has more in common with provision of services such as education and health, and with organised religion.

8.1.4 The effects of choice in other services

In banking, the only one of the Big Four represented in the area, apart from the Commonwealth Savings Bank facilities at the two branches of Australia Post, is Westpac with a branch in Triabunna. The nearest automatic teller machine is at Westpac in Sorell, where there is also a branch of Trust Bank, while the nearest branches of the Australia and New Zealand Bank and the National Australia Bank are at Rosny on Hobart's eastern shore. This appears not to be the result of the recent rationalisation which has closed branches and agencies elsewhere, but of a longstanding lack of regional competition between the major banks. This is understandable in relation to the problems of delivering services to Tasmania's dispersed population referred to in Ch. 3 but the consequent lack of choice in banking services was nevertheless the main complaint voiced in a survey of facilities in the Orford area carried out in 1991 by the University of Tasmania's second year geography undergraduates, and the situation also has employment implications.

Reference has been made earlier in Ch. 6 to the school situation in Spring Bay where parents exercise choice by making use of educational facilities locally or in Hobart or Launceston, or those of Distance Education, for a variety of reasons. The current choice is wider for some, as a result of increasing mobility largely due to road improvements on the Tasman Highway between Orford and Hobart, but is also part of an ongoing state policy of centralisation of education again made possible by increasing mobility. The closing of small rural primary schools in response to demographic changes and new educational economics and expectations has resulted over the years in the closure of schools at

Wielangta, Rheban, Ravensdale and Buckland within the Spring Bay area, and school closure and payment of school bus fares are continuing issues in Tasmania. This is therefore an arena of contention between individuals and the State Government (of whatever political persuasion), but it is also part of the way in which people go about living their lives; the phenomenon of 'putting the children on the school bus' in the morning at isolated spots, the consequent bus contracts and part-time driving jobs which contribute to household cash flows, the big district school at Triabunna, and schoolhouses turned into dwellings are all part of the local scene. Moreover, evidence from the survey shows that many of the families from which children travel out of the municipality come from the group of self-employed or small family businesses; the motives may vary but the totality is part of the local reproduction of class.

Rationalisation recommended by the CRESAP Report led to closures of libraries round the state but contingent circumstances, in the recent building of a prize-winning building for the Orford branch of the State Library, led to its being retained while the Triabunna branch was closed.

Few of those surveyed mentioned churches as local organisations to which they belonged, although more named specific organisations within their church. Responses to the ABS 1986 Census of Population and Housing gave 1 114 (56.0 per cent) as Anglicans, 277 (13.9 per cent) as Catholics, 25 (1.3 per cent) as Jehovah's Witnesses while 376 (18.9 per cent) gave no religion. It is recognised that census data reflect to some degree nominal affiliations and the effects of religion on place in Spring Bay are a mixture of past and present influences. The Anglican Church of Australia has three churches in the municipality, with a fourth church also belonging to the Parish of Buckland outside Spring Bay. The rector lives in Triabunna and the old rectory at Buckland is now a private dwelling. The three churches are of different degrees of high and low persuasion, and the churches have also become the spiritual homes of some other protestants in the area whose church has no local representation. There is a Catholic church at Triabunna, which is part of the Parish of Richmond and is under the care of the priest from the presbytery in Richmond. The two main denominations therefore have a spatial presence perhaps out of keeping with the present, are tied into powerful national and international hierarchies, and add only one person to the very small professional occupation group living in the area. The fundamentalist end of the Christian spectrum has not had much representation in the area until recently. In a nice example of the effect of community in the wider sense, the local Jehovah's Witness group, aided by co-religionists from around the state, recently engaged in what is termed a Kingdom Hall Raising, where their combined efforts over a weekend create a religious building from pouring a concrete slab on Friday evening to holding a service in the completed, carpeted and furnished hall on Sunday evening. There is thus not only a potent demonstration of power, but also a new building and new cultural choices for local people. In a different sphere there is an effect on the local labour market as many

of the Jehovah's Witness adults put church outreach work before waged employment, and thus look for part-time opportunities or are self-employed.

Medical provision in the past has consisted of a doctor employed by the Tasmanian Department of Health who worked with nursing sisters at the community health centre in Triabunna and held clinics in Orford, in a building which also provides facilities for a visiting optometrist, a part-time dentist and a veterinary service. Five years ago a private practitioner set up in Orford, sharing his medical centre with a visiting podiatrist, but at the time of writing he is returning to a practice in Hobart and it is not yet known whether he is giving up for other reasons or whether the population can not support two general practitioners. The Triabunna community health centre is also the base of the home care nursing service which provides home nursing, home help (i.e. domestic help) and home maintenance (i.e. repairs and maintenance) and is responsible for the catering but not the delivery of Meals on Wheels. Medical facilities therefore provide much more restricted choice than in a metropolitan area, but in Spring Bay are increasingly essential because of the high proportion of elderly residents. In the ABS 1986 Census of Population and Housing there were 319 (16 per cent) persons 60 years of age or over compared with 15 per cent for both Tasmania and Australia. One hundred and twenty three (6 per cent of the total population of the municipality) were 70 or over. Moreover, 73 of this elderly group (almost 23 per cent) were widowed[1] and 62 (almost 20 per cent) lived in 'lone person households'. The nature of the population and the services available is apparent not only in the built environment but in the opportunities for employment for others, provided by the state or by private enterprise, and also in the demands placed on the community for voluntary support.

The net result of all these social processes and individual, group and state decisions on local space and place is an area with nine petrol stations, five pubs, five churches of three persuasions, three small supermarkets tied to the same wholesaler, three schools, one doctor and one bank, a distribution which reflects the scope for flexibility and individual and group action in the different spheres.

8.1.5 Interim reflections on theory

As new opportunities are created or destroyed, as new groups move in to an area or the relative numerical strength of existing groups is altered by outmigration, the character of an area changes as part of a spiral of activity. The metaphor employed at the end of Ch. 7 embodies the adjustment, especially around the edges of groups, implicit in this situation. New groups bring with them fresh opportunities for other people, perhaps to create niche employment for themselves, while the closure of existing structures, whether economic, cultural or educational, has widespread effects through social networks. The

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[1] The ABS uses the term for women and men

balance between production, amenity, mobility and development quoted earlier (Marsden *et al.* 1990: viii) is constantly changing and with it the nature of places and the power of individuals and groups. The sedimentary metaphor of successive rounds of investment (Massey 1984: 117-118), which ties neatly into the notion of mobility of capital and spatial divisions of labour, also addresses the question of the link between local and international spatial structures:

> ... if a local economy can be analysed as the historical product of the combination of layers of activity, those layers also represent in turn the succession of roles the local economy has played within wider national and international spatial structures (Massey 1984: 118).

The geologic metaphor, with its perhaps unintentional implications of space as a stage, was continued from economic to broader social terms of ideology and politics:

> The layers of history which are sedimented over time are not just economic; there are also cultural, political and ideological strata, layers which also have their local specificities. And this aspect of the construction of 'locality' further reinforces the impossibility of reading off from a 'layer of investment' any automatic reverberations on the character of a particular area (Massey 1984: 120).

This attempt to deal with the uniqueness of place and the constantly evolving and shifting systems of interdependence is now being replaced by more subtle theorisation. This is not to deny the past a place; in Spring Bay, the old country saw mills, Sir Henry Jones' apple and apricot orchards producing for the Hobart IXL jam factory, Safcol's fish factory and the alginate factory in the past contributed to the production and reproduction of local space in the same way that the APPM chip mill, Industrial Fish, the scallop project and the Eastcoaster Resort which replaced the alginate factory do at present. It would, however, be wise to consider the views of those concerned with cultural geography:

> Insofar as [present realities] have brought us a global present without a common past [they] threaten to render all traditions and all particular past histories irrelevant (Arendt 1957: 541 quoted in Robertson 1990: 15).

The change in theory has been to a greater emphasis on changing social relations and in particular the point of intersection of those relations:

> ... what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalised history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus ... each 'place' can be seen as a particular, unique point of their intersection. It is, indeed, a *meeting* place. Instead, then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself ... (Massey 1991: 28)

This is indeed to give space a more prominent role than time, and in doing so to place emphasis on the 'here and now' in a fruitful intersection which allows a conceptualisation of

> ... economic, political and cultural social relations, each full of power and with internal structures of domination and subordination, stretched out over the planet at every different level, from the household to the local area to the international (Massey 1991: 28).

This recent formulation is significant in several respects. Its implications with regard to power structures are taken up in Ch. 9. In addition, it increasingly comes to terms with a wider range of social relations than the earlier conceptualisaton which privileged class (in marxist terms) above all else. In 1984, Massey felt able to quote the following excerpt from Lipietz (emphasis in original):

> *La structuration de l'espace est la dimension spatiale des rapports sociaux, et, ceux-ci étant luttes de classes, la structuration de l'espace est luttes de classes, non seulement en ce sens qu'elle en est le produit, mais en ce qu'elle en est enjeu et même un moyen (Lipietz 1977: 90 in Massey 1984: 124)*[2].

This is a much narrower view than those from 1991 expressed above. By 1992, Sayer and Walker are arguing for '... a more amplified sense of social structuring than class analysis alone can provide' (Sayer and Walker 1992: 29; see also Gibson and Graham 1992 for a similar view). Of particular relevance to the argument in this chapter is the allied examination of the importance of the social division of labour:

> [t]he conflict people face between their interests in consuming the cheapest goods and their interests as workers producing commodities and wanting to maximize their income is not wholly reducible to a class, capital-versus-labour dimension (Sayer 1992: 354).

The fact that individuals act as both producer and consumer is epitomised at the local level in the dilemma of Spring Bay shopkeepers and shoppers, at the level of a multinational chain by the current promotion 'Buy Australian made at Coles and buy your kids a job' and at national level by the polarisation over tariff reductions. These examples appear to operate at different spatial scales yet all have local implications. This producer/consumer relation has the added effect that

> there is an increasing range of potential *combinations* of externally generated production and consumption relationships which are capable of conferring value on different rural spaces (Marsden 1992: 218, emphasis in original).

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[2] The structuring of space is the spatial dimension of social relations, and since these social relations are class struggles, the structuring of space is class struggle, not only in the sense of being the product of it [class struggle], but of being a participant [having a stake] in it, and even being a means of it (author's translation).

In this first section attention has been focused on the construction of place by a range of local activities, decisions and choices by individuals, groups and institutions. The focus in the next section reverts to the household and the spatial relations of pluriactivity.

8.2 Spatial aspects of pluriactivity

In this section, the role of space in household strategies is considered. The interactive view taken here uses the definition of territory as 'humanly differentiated geographical space' (Dear and Wolch 1989: 3), and focuses on the way territory can shape social life and the reflexive way in which social life can structure space, at the level of the household and more particularly of decisions within the household about pluriactive possibilities. Ownership or control of space gives potential for a wider range of strategies in the organisation of labour time and consumption, but even within a household based on minimal family territory, other spatial considerations impinge on decision making.

What matters is the use of space by households, and this may be use of family territory or manipulation of other spatial relations. Are both/all workers at home, as in some farm families, or both at the family business, or as in the case of fishing enterprises and log truck owners one at base and one away? Do some members of the household confine themselves to home duties? Are both/all at the same workplace, having benefited from internal labour markets (all the female employees at APPM Triabunna have at least one male relative employed there) or perhaps able to economise in transport? The answers to these questions show a great variety of strategies which differ partly with the type of groups outlined at the end of the previous chapter and partly with contingent conditions such as size of family and age of children.

8.2.1 The use of family territory

Family territory is conceptualised as owned or rented buildings and land, together with owned or leased trucks or boats which are in effect workplaces for mobile workers. Family territory is therefore not necessarily spatially contiguous; strategies may be different for those households who operate more than one enterprise, or where home and workplace, both owned, are spatially separate. Nevertheless, labour time can be differently organised on territory controlled by the family from on territory controlled by an employer, possibly more flexibly to allow for more of the household members' aspirations, and certainly to cope with contingent conditions such as day care of pre-schoolers, after-school supervision and children's holiday activities. Table 8.1 is a generalisation from the circumstances revealed in the Spring Bay survey and shows different uses of family territory by the different groups identified in Ch. 7.

The most important point which emerges is the use of family territory by the family business and self-employed group. This might have been expected in relation to family

farms but is also true of family businesses. In Table 8.1, the family business and self-employed group from Table 7.2 is divided into those where the family dwelling is separate (i.e. on a different site not just a different building) and those where the dwelling is combined with business premises, either in one building such as an hotel or on one site such as a farm. It should, however, be stressed that the interview survey was done at a time when small businesses had already begun to shed non-family labour as a result of the recession, so that even in circumstances where normally one of the parents would have been

Table 8.1 Use of family territory by different types of household

Household where all, both or main income earner has/have the characteristics listed below:	Dwelling plus self provisioning and self-servicing	Dwelling plus site of secondary income earning	Dwelling plus principal income earning by one family member	Dwelling plus principal income earning by more than one family member
Employees of major employer	•	-	nil	nil
Employees of small employers		-	nil	nil
Family businesses and self employed where dwelling is separate from business premises	less likely	depends on definition of secondary income		
Family businesses and self employed where dwelling is combined with business premises	varies with nature of business	-	•	•
State employees	high opportunity	few	nil	nil
Younger retirees	•	few	nil	nil
Older retirees	decreases with age and disability	-	nil	nil
Modified subsistence	•	few	nil	nil
Others receiving pensions and benefits	varies	-	nil	nil

Key: • substantial majority
- virtually none

at the separate family home with the children, the children were doing virtually all their family living, except for sleeping, at the place of business. During school holidays it is evident that trucks are also family territory.

Farms, many situations in the hospitality industry, and service stations/road houses are obvious examples which allow for greater flexibility in integrating work for family members and can include the care of children and different ways of coping with everyday household tasks. Some other family territory situations do not appear to offer the same potential, for example a small sawmill, a small engineering works or a doctor's surgery. It is possible that this initial reaction is an effect of modern urban experience where increasingly specialised workplaces have been separated from living places; in many peripheral areas, these three examples above would be on the same site as the family house, and to a greater or lesser degree can allow for child care while integrating family labour, particularly with regard to keeping the books and maintaining contacts with clients. The earlier importance of having someone to answer the phone has changed through mobile phones and answering machines. It is important to note that although the norm is that the principal income earner in a household is male, a variety of contingent circumstances may mean that it is the female who 'goes out to work' while the male is responsible for home duties.

There is the importance too of other family resources such as fishing boats and trucks as family territory, although the range of strategies may have to include links between resource and base. The joint owner of a cray boat who operates the radio links to the boat, and sets up buyers to be on the wharf at the port decided on, is in much the same position as a doctor's spouse who may take on clerical and telephone responsibilities for the practice. The base is important for truck owners in terms of parking and maintenance areas, and some family joint truck owners split the work between driving/maintenance and paperwork/CB radio backup.

There are also households that work on what is family territory for the time being. It is leased or rented, so that the relations of production include different financial provisions at different time scales from mortgages on owned properties, and may thus add impetus to finding other sources of income outside the family concern.

Different types of household thus have different employment strategies with regard to space and the use of family territory. To use the term strategy here is not to imply full information, judgment and free choice as in neo-classical economics. It does not imply that members of a household said 'Let's have one job in the state service and one with local small business so we don't have all our eggs in one basket'. Bhaskar pointed out that

> '... people do not marry to reproduce the nuclear family, or work to reproduce the capitalist economy (Bhaskar 1989: 80).

Similarly people do not consciously spread their family employment around different fractions of capital or not, but the end result carries with it some implications with regard to liability to risk in different phases of the business cycle.

In Fig. 8.4 the underlying thought is that it matters in influencing the patterns of everyday life whether members of the household are working on their own territory or not. A spectrum of different possible situations in which a variety of different spatial strategies is shown. These strategies not only take into account implicitly or explicitly the social relations constituted by space in the form of family territory. They also involve spatial constraints on social relations and social relations mediated by space (Wolch and Dear 1989). These are interchangeable in the sense that a distance to work, for example, that is impossible in one set of household circumstances may be practicable for another household with a better support network or perhaps only with a more reliable car. Moreover, a household's access may be altered over time by external decisions and actions, such as road upgrading. Accessibility to jobs and services therefore can be constantly changing through different capabilities to manipulate space. Some of the variants are explored in the next sub-section.

8.2.2 Social relations constrained and mediated by space

Households may entirely separate place of paid work from place of living. This makes for constraints as well as opportunities. Much of this is related to mobility and in particular to the relative mobility of different members of the household. Access to transport is gendered (see,for example, Rutherford and Wekerle 1988); there may therefore be spatial constraints on choice of work for spouses. To be considered viable, a job for a member of the family other than the principal earner may have to be within walking or cycling distance of home, to be near the employment of the principal income earner and at suitable times, or to necessitate own transport or possibly the use of family private transport while the main income earner uses work-related transport, either an employer's or the family's utility or truck.

For individuals working away from family territory, there are several situations possible. They may be working all the time at a single place, such as a farm, factory, school, shop or service station. This spatial stability allows other family members to make decisions to fit in, especially if the working hours are also stable. Shift work tends to restrict others' opportunities. The bigger the enterprise, however, the more chance of sharing transport.

If employment involves individuals in working in multiple workplaces, there are several spatial possibilities. It may be that the work involves being at one location for several weeks and then moving on to another place for a similar length of time, as for example in felling timber. It may be that the work consists of two regular modes, in the workshop and out installing/delivering, in the office and out supervising in the bush, in the police

station or out in the patrol car, or in the shop and out stocking up at the wholesalers', with perhaps a daily or a weekly pattern. It may be that work entails a day to day manipulation of new urgent demands and ongoing do-it-when-convenient jobs at varying sites, some of it contingent on the weather, the kind of adjustment that communications and power supply engineers, painters, plumbers and odd jobbers do almost automatically. Some of these jobs may also involve being on call out of normal work hours in emergencies. Some employment involves more extended mobility. Sales representatives, truck and van drivers and fishermen all have their own spatial networks on different scales tied into different time routines. Fishermen may come into their home port once in three weeks while a tanker driver may get home every night.

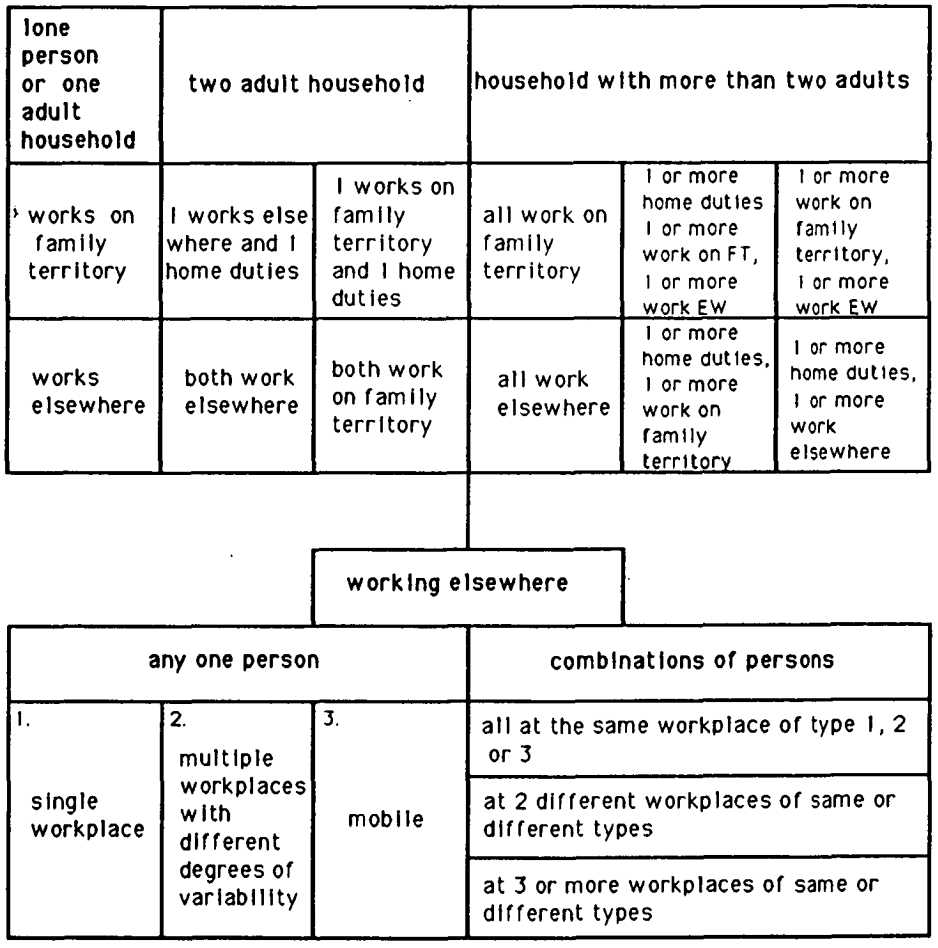

Fig. 8.4 Variety of spatial relations of households where one or more persons are earning incomes

Thus the spatial nature of some occupations has far reaching implications for others in the household. Some of these considerations have been investigated through the techniques of time geography (Hägerstrand 1970, 1973) but the interplay of activities in a household, where for example one adult drives a truck, one runs a small retail business, one works non-standard hours in the hospitality industry and there are also children at school, requires a more holistic conceptualisation. There is an effect on gender division of labour both between paid and unpaid work and also in relation to everyday household tasks. Who does which where and for how much of the time is not a theoretical point. The issues come down to earth in the negotiated mix of activities in individual households. Different combinations of activities are possible for different households and offer differing potential for degrees of subordination to the demands of the principal income earner's employment. Other considerations involve a wider theorisation. The degree of negotiation or patriarchy, of tradition and unexamined assumptions about gender roles and possibilities, may be overriding in some households. The place of the household in relation to support networks can also be crucial, particularly in relation to child care, and has an undoubted spatial aspect. 'Mum lives round the corner', and especially a mother without employment, may be a very different situation from 'both our families are in Melbourne' to a household with young children in need of extra income from a casual job. Retired grandparents nearby, willing to provide back-up if school age children are ill, may tip the scale in the consideration of a rare offer of full-time employment for the principal carer in a household.

It seems to matter where as well as for whom the main income earner works as to what pattern of household employment is operable, and this raises further questions. Is this situation enforced by the male employment orientation of the principal local employer, and the predominantly male bias of fishing, forestry, transport and to a lesser degree farming, the other important emphases in the area? Is this general in non-metropolitan areas where a similar mix, perhaps with mining added, is to be expected, and where the traditionally female secretarial and retail jobs are few? Is the non-metropolitan norm full-time male employment and casual female employment? If, for example, a big tourist complex were to be built, would the pattern be the same? The existence of a reserve army of labour may influence the type of employment created in the area. Early in 1991, the then Labour Minister for Primary Industry spoke at a public meeting in Triabunna, lauding the employment prospects of the scallop project. Neither speaker nor audience questioned that the majority of the jobs created would be casual and seasonal. If the issue arose during the interview survey, the general feeling was that any employment adds prosperity to the area.

In Table 8.1, the question of secondary or additional income in family business was raised and not resolved. This is partly the result of lack of clarity in the changing terms recently employed. Before the use of the term 'pluriactivity' in its current wide sense, rural

sociologists differentiated between 'diversification', new uses of space, labour time and capital goods on the farm, and off-farm employment, varying between, for example, contract fencing or shearing for other farms and a job completely separate from farming. The term 'pluriactive' allows theorisation of links between household and capital but it is necessary to make sure that it does not become a blanket term which conceals important spatial differences. In some situations a variety of tasks is a paid job and any additions to it are still 'farming' or 'running a service station'. If it is diversification on your own property - adding bed and breakfast facilities, selling produce at the gate or catering for coach tours - in one sense it is simply intensification, getting more out of the existing territory and labour, but in another it is adding to the divisions of labour within the enterprise. Planting potatoes or turnips to help cash flow or selling loads of firewood which also derive from family territory would probably be implemented by different people in the household from those, for example, catering for visitors. Such strategies are also related to the interface between formal and informal activities in several ways. One is between regulated activities and the cash economy in the sense of what is declared for tax purposes (Fig. 2.18). Another is related to extensions of family territory; several interviewees with no formal connection with farming made it clear that they 'had a bit of land' somewhere, sometimes jointly owned - 'Gran left that paddock to me and my brother and we run a few sheep and a couple of bullocks'. More broadly they are also related to the nexus of domestic activities, self-provisioning and income earning, in the sense of where the household sees running the house as fitting in to the total strategy, and in some cases how the household perceives the wife's part in the family business. Some of these issues are taken up again in Ch. 9 under the gendered experience of everyday life, but attention turns next to a topic of concern to the household as a whole, housing and the housing market.

8.3 Housing and space

Little work has been done at any scale on the relation between labour markets and housing markets especially at the level of the household (Allen and Hamnett 1991a; Randolph 1991; Watson 1991). There is a potential range of theoretical issues on the nature, extent and magnitude of the links between one market and the other. These include the way price differentials between places at a regional level affect labour mobility, the effect of public housing on the private housing market and the influence of employer behaviour on housing costs. More important is

> ... the deeper social problem ... [of] the people trapped in declining ... labour markets who foresee diminished income streams combined with a decline in relative and absolute value of their housing asset (Morrison 1991: 1680).

In Spring Bay, the housing situation is extremely diverse in a variety of ways. The existing housing stock consists of a mix of weatherboard, brick, plasterboard and concrete

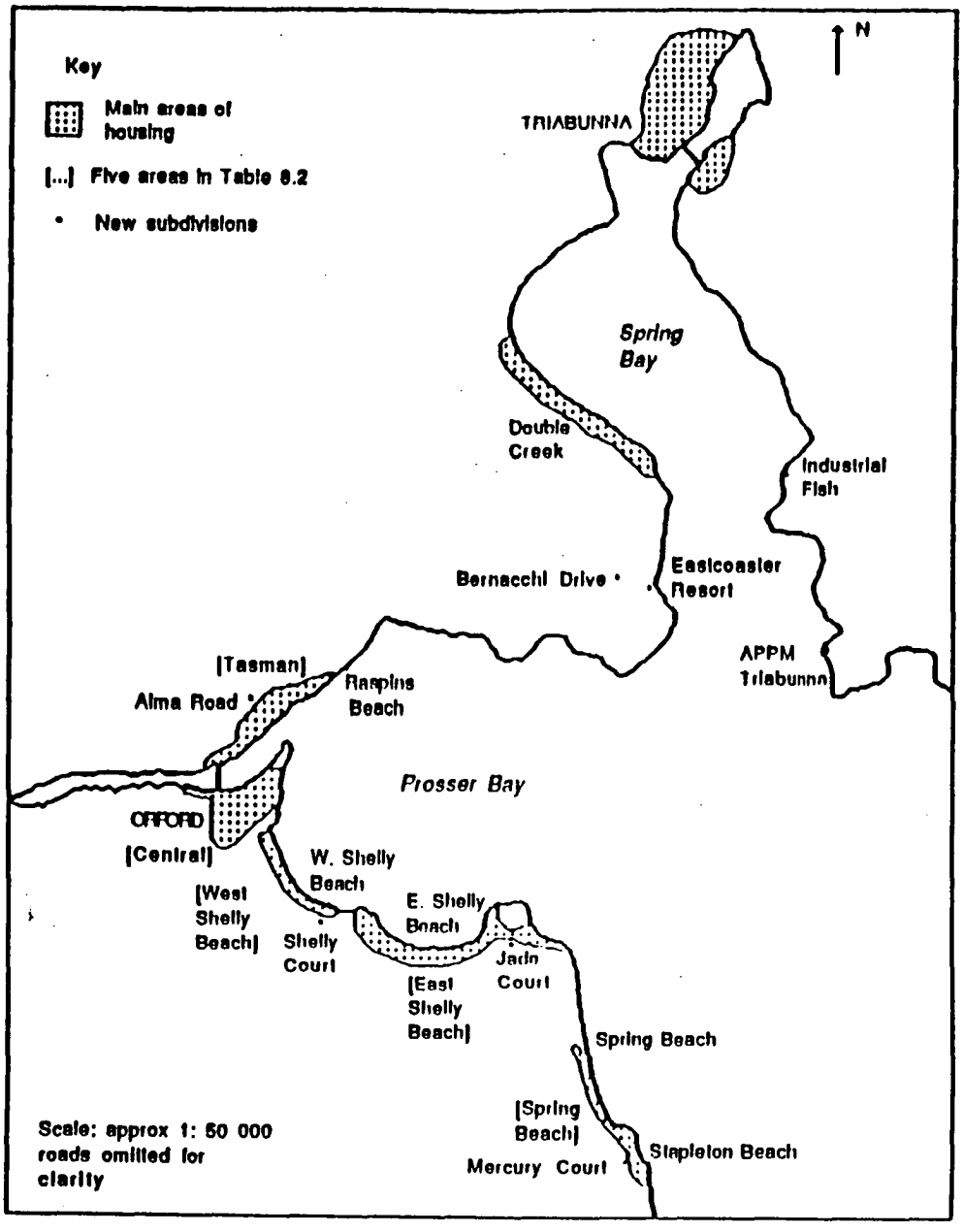

Fig. 8.5 Sketch map of locations in Orford and Triabunna

block constructions of differing ages and sizes from early and modest farmhouses, homes and shacks to modern palatial residences which could equally fit into an affluent suburb. The word 'mix' is used deliberately, as infilling has led to streets and whole areas of extreme diversity. On the other hand, recent subdivision has led to enclaves of similar housing in, for example, Alma Road, Jade Court, Shelly Court and Mercury Place in Orford (see Fig. 8.5), and older groupings can be found in the area of public housing built in Triabunna for employees when the chipmill was opened, and the housing originally associated with the saw mill in Buckland.

Table 8.2 Distribution of houses in Orford by occupation type

Part of Orford	Permanently occupied		Intermittently occupied		Total occupied	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Tasman	61	59	43	41	104	100
Central	66	50	64	50	130	100
West Shelly	11	15	61	85	72	100
East Shelly	23	28	59	72	82	100
Spring Beach	32	65	17	35	49	100
Orford Total	196	45	241	55	437	100

Source: Harwin (1991) on the basis of the 1991 Rate Record

The average price of housing differs markedly between Orford and Triabunna. To some extent this reflects the demand for housing in Orford as a holiday place and a retirement area in contrast to Triabunna as a 'working class' town. In 1991 Orford had 196 permanently occupied residences and 241 intermittently occupied residences (Harwin 1991). These were unevenly distributed (Fig. 8.5 and Table 8.2) and in the time since Harwin's survey more houses, principally permanently occupied, have been built in the four areas mentioned above and in Bernacchi Drive on the hillside above the Eastcoaster Resort. A change in the composition and character of the local council is held to be the reason for increased subdivision of land for housing. Earlier councils had been made up mainly of local graziers and retired professional people who supported the *status quo*, but in the late 1980s a group of local businessmen successfully stood for election, the council has become more pro-development and more subdivision has been sanctioned. During the same period, concern over the future of Triabunna has grown. If APPM Triabunna were to close, either through action by the North group or as the result of the implementation of the Federal Government's deadline on the export of woodchips, the character of the town would inevitably alter. In particular there would probably be out-migration, leading to an excess of housing available over demand which would depress the housing market. There are 21 houses in Triabunna belonging to Housing Tasmania, in contrast to two in Orford[1]. Some of these are still occupied by APPM employees and there is local concern that these houses if vacated would be used to house problem 'welfare families' from Hobart. It is already alleged to have happened and an increase in this policy could have a damaging effect on the character of parts of Triabunna and on housing prices. This major concern was expressed during the interview survey and there was evidence of people opting to sell a house in Triabunna and buy or build in one of the new subdivisions in Orford.

Thus the nature of local places is being changed, not only by past and present actions but also by perceptions of future actions by individuals, institutions and the state. Place,

[1] information from Municipal Council Office, 1992

however, has another dimension; 'place-in-the-world' (Kearns 1992: 277) and one particular aspect of this concept, that of sites of accumulation, is considered next.

8.4 Sites of accumulation

Many people assume, or have been able to assume until recently, that the conditions under which they live can be taken for granted, that working hours, job specifications, manning levels and jobs themselves will continue as they are, that remuneration will be maintained or increased to keep up with the cost of living index, and that the whole fabric of their life, their place in the world, might be expected to continue and that what they are accustomed to will remain the way it is. Harsh reality in the late 1980s and early 1990s has demonstrated to others that this is not so, and restructuring for some has entailed disruption, disillusionment and relocation. For one group in particular the possibility of reproduction of their way of life is perhaps masked by circumstances. Farmers and rural business people are still considered to be relatively unchanging, although this has been shown to be one of the myths of rural life. Farmers in particular have been accustomed to being rich in assets but with a variable cash flow which has to be allocated between reinvestment in the business and disposable income. The combination of working and living in the same place may hide lack of reproduction in the sense that the enterprise is not necessarily making sufficient profit for accumulation to take place. The question to be asked perhaps should be where is the place of an enterprise within fractions of capital or alternatively how much of accumulation derived from the enterprise is sited elsewhere.

There is a considerable body of literature distinguishing between uses of the term 'reproduction' (see, for example, McDonough and Harrison 1978; Friedmann 1981; Mackintosh 1981 and Fig. 2.2). Biological reproduction is the reproduction of the species. Reproduction of labour is the whole process of nurture and socialisation as well as biological reproduction. Social reproduction is the renewal process whereby relations of production in society are perpetuated (O'Hara 1987). It is this last concept which is associated with the idea of sites of accumulation.

It has already been noted in Ch. 7 that family farms and to an extent small businesses of other types show considerable variation in viability, profitability and opportunities for accumulation and the reproduction of the enterprise. Friedland and Pugliese (1989) query whether family farms do indeed have a role in the expanded reproduction of capital, and whether such units themselves accumulate or whether they contribute to the accumulation of capital by others. In recent years there have been two views about the future of family farms. The first is their eventual subsumption by capital (see, for example, Goodman and Redclift 1985) and the alternative that capital has succeeded in exploiting family farmers by controlling the sphere of circulation through inputs and marketing, even to the

extent of reducing household members to the status of proletarians working at home (Buttel *et al.* 1980). A current approach summarises the situation as

> [m]any family producers contribute to capital accumulation indirectly, with accumulation occurring elsewhere, with input producers or output processors (Friedland and Pugliese 1989: 158).

In many ways this general observation applies to other small businesses, especially service stations, where the oil companies replace agricultural machinery and chemical companies, and automobile manufacturers benefit in a slightly different way from woollen manufactures and food processors. In some circumstances entrepreneurs remain in business but do not accumulate enough for expanded reproduction of their capital, and some make so little profit that they eventually have to give up (Friedland and Pugliese 1989). Some of those who remain realise their position and stay, especially on farms but also in some rural businesses, for reasons associated with quality of life, particularly with a life style away from urban living. Ways in which people give meaning and value to their activities are therefore important as well as purely economic considerations (O'Hara 1987). It has been suggested that the future will be a dual structure of big farms for production and small farms important for other social purposes such as for employment where there are few alternative labour market prospects (Etxezarreta and Viladomiu 1987). This is allied with acceptance of pluriactivity as a way of life and part of the relationships involved in meeting consumption and reproduction needs by production in more than one arena of activity (Persson 1992).

The term 'exploiting' was used earlier in discussing views of the relation between external capital and farm households. Exploitation has been defined as 'constant compulsory labour for somebody else's benefit' (Ossowski 1963: 26 in Dempsey 1988: 421). Frequency and regularity of performance, the extent to which that impedes leisure and the degree to which it places the performer in a subordinate position are all seen as part of exploitation. The question of whether family farm or other small business households are exploited is problematic. On the one hand it appears that the surplus from 'unremitting labour' is siphoned off from some households to the advantage of capitalist suppliers and buyers, partly through the inequality of pricing between sectors. On the other hand, to take an existentialist view, there is always an alternative, so that participation is not compulsory. To a degree, then, it is a relationship not simply of exploitation, nor simply of self-exploitation, but of exploitation and complicity to achieve diverse ends.

To return to the concept of place in the world, for some that place is a multiple place. This is especially so for women, and will be discussed further in Ch. 9. It has already been pointed out that many people operate as both producer and consumer; for everyone, however, new ways of working mean that it is also possible to be simultaneously self-employed and an employee, to be working for yourself and for someone else, or to be

formally employed in more than one sector, for example in education and in agriculture. This has presented further theoretical problems in the already difficult field of marxist class analysis (Friedland and Pugliese 1989); at a personal level it may mean having a foot in two camps and that psychologically this identity problem of place in the world may be resolved by an increased attachment to place of living. As these trends are part of the move towards flexibility they are also part of the move away from a stable full-time labour force and add to the unpredictability of income earning; this is a re-emphasis of Marx's assertion that

> ... every social process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction (Marx 1976: 711).

8.5 Conclusions

In a book relevantly titled *Places on the Margin*, it has been observed that

> [s]ites are never simply locations. Rather, they are sites for someone and something (Shields 1991: 6).

In this chapter, initially through the local construction of space, sites have been explored as venues for a variety of agents and groups, such as shoppers, motorists, households, small businesses, church members and parents, who engage in the decisions of everyday life, exercising choices within local constraints and opportunities, and thereby continuously create the characteristics of local place and change the range of constraints and opportunities. The focus has also been on how decisions in productive and reproductive activities affect what sort of jobs are created and where. The exercise of choice operates at different spatial scales and is influenced by mobility, and increasing mobility for an individual or community leads to wider choices. The implications of pluriactivity, particularly in relation to the importance of family territory, mesh with the previous points to raise two questions. First, is the situation in Spring Bay, with its links to self-employment and small family businesses, a relic of previous modes of capitalism, does it represent a reasonable strategy retained or is it a case, as Pugliese (1991) suggests, of conditions in other sectors moving towards what is still/already the norm in non-metropolitan/rural areas? Second, how representative is the situation in Spring Bay? Part of the back and forward movement between data and theory has to be the elimination of contingent elements. The small family business is a universal part of the non-metropolitan scene. Farms, shops, service stations, small hotels, schools, medical centres and trucking are universal even if fishing boats are a special case, and space and territory are a necessary part of such enterprises. Massey (1991c) has commented on the myths of rural life currently to be seen in the romanticism of the 'heritage' movement. Is 'your own plot of land' one of the myths or is it an important part of the set-up in non-metropolitan areas? Does it give advantages of flexibility in such areas or are rural small businesses to a greater or lesser degree merely an example of capitalist exploitation?

These questions link in to wider issues of perceptions and experiences of space and place, and how particular manifestations of current capitalism in local places are articulated into global processes. These issues are explored in Ch. 9.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY AS A GEOGRAPHICAL WHOLE

On the one hand this thesis consists of an eclectic body of theory, in the broadest sense of theory as 'what you think with' (Reynolds 1992: 403) aiming to understand spatial and social actions and patterns, which includes ways of constructing and evaluating knowledge, more specific and limited theories about economic geography and the space economy, what relative importance each is given and how it is possible to write about them. On the other hand there are data about a hundred real people living and working in a specific place, influenced by their own and their families' pasts through genetic inheritance, experiences, skills and accumulated material wealth, and representative of the population of a discrete municipality. These people are also influenced by groups in the local area such as unions, employers, religious and other cultural organisations, financial institutions and other pressure groups, by happenings in other places and by legislation, exerting power at different scales and increasing or diminishing their own and other people's range of opportunities. These two, the general and the specific, the abstract and the concrete, are unified by the way they have been viewed, that is by the identity of the researcher and by choice of methodology. It has recently been stated editorially that:

> ... it is now accepted as an ethical and political responsibility to position oneself so as to betray the partiality of one's perspective (Pratt 1992: 241).

This alleged acceptance has been challenged, both editorially and cynically, in terms of

> [s]ome form of specific 'show' or display of reflexivity is something one's work has gotta have nowadays, because it has become a sign of critical thinking. ... reflexivity becomes the mode of a rather puritanical, competitive assessment among scholars of the relative virtue of each other's practices of self-identification and self-presentation (Marcus 1992: 489).

While it is obviously not yet clear whether this contested acceptance applies to theses as well as to journal articles, the partiality of the author's perspective will have emerged from the acknowledgments and from Chs 1 and 4 if from nowhere else. Not so clear are what the original editor terms the 'politics of presence', establishing the 'grounds for finding a speaking position and the possibilities for speaking across differences' (Pratt 1992: 241). This problem is obvious in discussions of gender, where there <u>is</u> no neutral position, but is equally crucial in matters related to class, age, ethnicity and a whole range of ethical and political stances. The phrase 'a scrupulous subjectivity' (Said 1990 quoted in Pratt 1992: 242) encapsulates an objective in this respect, never to forget the existence of bias in oneself and to report and represent subjectivity in others as they expressed it, as far as can be done within the limits of one's perception.

The guided conversation approach chosen as the main component of methodology elicits some data which differ from those derived from other approaches in what use can legitimately be made of them and the way in which the data can be incorporated in text and discourse. In total this is a very different approach from that of small area studies derived from previous generations of regional geography. Indeed, the method which was employed, with no intention of pastiche, in introducing the study area in Ch. 1, has recently been attacked on the basis that its superimposed topics have an implied determinism even though no causal sequence is spelled out:

> One could, I think, argue that at times ... geography's versions of the world are rarely addressed as such because they are so taken for granted. Take, for example, the stratigraphy of those regional and local studies where place is built up, layer upon layer, through rock, soil, vegetation, and habitation, with activities on top. It is seldom acknowledged that this is a *particular* way of seeing ... (Matless 1992: 53).

The outcome of such studies tended to concentrate on industries rather than occupations and be principally male oriented with little concept of productive activities performed by people as people, embedded in a whole range of activities only some of which are work related.

The outcome of the present approach can be regarded in two ways. It can be seen as a series of chapters (Chs 5-8) on labour market experience and household strategies in the Spring Bay area in the context of the importance of small businesses and the power and strategies of the principal employer in the area, and in terms of middle level theories such as labour market segmentation, pluriactivity and the local construction of space. These topics are combined with some questioning about dualistic thinking which clouds some of the issues, questioning which casts doubt, not on the validity of the data from the Spring Bay survey, but on some ways in which knowledge is constructed out of collected data by categorisation. The outcome can also be viewed as a series of reflections on abstractions and trains of thought which find contemporary expression in Spring Bay: on the gendered experience of everyday life; on power relations in terms of 'whose space?' which could be extended to 'whose reality will prevail and who will own it?'; on the development versus conservation debate; on the structure/agency dualism; and on the relation of the local and the global. These more speculative and interwoven aspects are treated in this chapter and reference is made to some recent literature. Some of the illustrations in one section could equally have been used in another, and the reflections move among empirical findings and theory, method and context, anecdote and *zeitgeist*, misgivings and new certainties, designed to illuminate the study as a geographical whole.

9.1 The gendered experience of everyday life

At the beginning of Ch. 8, the importance of everyday life as a spatial concept was put forward, with a caveat about gender inclusiveness. There are related ways in which the experience of everyday life requires further consideration. The first is summarised in the following assertion:

> [w]hile it is clear that the everyday life of women is not the same thing as the everyday life of men, the concept of everyday life does nothing to clarify and explain this (Yeatman 1986: 169).

At first glance this statement may appear obscure but a reading of, for example, Eyles (1989) makes clear the way in which it is possible to discuss everyday life as an ethnographic concept related to 'individuals' and 'people', using examples from both genders but not distinguishing between them. Everyday life is constructed out of different factors for the two genders and these factors relate to several broad spheres. One of these spheres in particular is emphasised by the implications of a point made recently:

> [p]sychological evidence indicates that there are few greater determinants of place-in-the-world than paid employment (Kearns 1992: 277 citing Macky and Haines 1982).

Whether a person can get any paid employment, and what type is available either because of local conditions or because of age, prejudice or family responsibilities, are pertinent questions for each gender but the answers for each are inevitably different. A change in gender studies has recently become apparent, not only in academic approaches but also in government departments. There has been a move away from the separatist type of study which looks at women in isolation towards those which look at women in context, as attempted as part of this thesis and as required in the following:

> [n]ote that in general projects which intend to investigate or demonstrate differential experiences or outcomes for women will need also to include comparative analysis with the experiences or outcomes for men (Australia, Department of Employment, Education and Training 1992).

Perhaps the primary question should be what does it mean to be male or female, living in Spring Bay towards the end of the twentieth century. This, however, redirects attention to the problem referred to in the introduction to this chapter of the 'politics of presence'. Can any claim to speak for others be justified? The interviewees, of course, had a clearer view of the author as a person than the reader has and had an opportunity for interaction, and some of them related to her more than others did; a few undoubtedly tailored what they said to her age and gender, although in the true independent spirit of rural and small town Australia the majority were simply forthright in expressing opinions and asking reciprocal questions. This use of the term 'tailored' is not to imply that the interviewer felt in command, to be deferred to, exercising authority or even completely setting the agenda; as McDowell (1992: 213) puts it, 'the interviewer is more often in the position of a

supplicant, requesting time and expertise'. Throughout this thesis, the words interviewer and interviewee are used to imply a relationship, but a relationship contingent on circumstances in which as far as possible power games were absent.

In general the author felt she had most problems with some middle aged women engaged in home duties. This was not for lack of empathy on her part but rather because of a defensiveness on their part which arose from the unavoidable circumstance that the author was demonstrably not of their home-centred group. On the other hand, in the course of a particularly interactive interview with an 'unemployed working man', both parties came to an unexpected realisation of considerable common ground on account of his interest in political economy. Nevertheless, however much or little empathy or common ground there is, no person of one gender has been through the socialisation process of the other which appears to result in certain even if varying mind sets. So perhaps 'speak for others' should be replaced by 'speak about others' or 'report as unbiasedly as possible'.

The problem of speaking for or about others arises in a more acute form in a different aspect of gender experience. Reference was made in Ch. 1 to the problem of the relative autonomy of consciousness, of people interpreting the same situation differently, as a major problem in social science (Sayer 1989a). Feminist literature is much concerned with issues of exploitation and subordination, yet not all women, in apparently subordinate or exploited situations either within the household or in employment, recognise the situation as such or resent it. What right then has an observer to attach a label which the recipient would not accept? At what point does interpretation become arrogance? In the epilogue to *On Work* Pahl (1988a) discusses the possible mind sets of a person ironing a shirt and in effect argues for a paraphrase, *credo ergo sum*, (I believe it, so I am) of a famous Latin tag. Does this apply also in the negative - I don't believe it, so I'm not? On the other hand, 'research is about interpretation rather than revealed facts or undebatable truths' (Schoenberger 1992: 216) and some practicable way of avoiding the claim to be the privileged outsider, the distanced observer must be found.

Whatmore (1991) offers a cognitive perspective on the issue of knowing better than your sources what their situation is:

> ... the kinds of methodology required to tackle questions of identity and experience are fraught with ethical and practical problems. They entail ... a necessary process of re-presentation of research subjects' self-understanding because of the nature of social discourse as a source of information. This means that my representation of the working lives of the women portrayed does not mirror their own. Neither can it be read as somehow tapping a deeper level of 'reality' or 'truth'. It is limited to highlighting some of the discursive practices by which women come to represent their interests in particular ways ... (Whatmore 1991b: 148).

This recourse to interpreting the text of the interviewee's discourse is simply moving the ethical question one stage further on. McDowell (1992) in discussing Schoenberger (1991)

and evaluating open-ended interview methodology, argues that the knowledge acquired is contextual, interpersonal and partial. The phrase 'situated knowledge' has been used for this partial perspective, avoiding relativism and creating what might be called a limited objectivity (Pratt 1992; Haraway 1991) and might be regarded as the reverse side of the coin of the scrupulous subjectivity advocated earlier. Both parties construct a version of themselves and each other which is then re-interpreted and re-presented in different ways in the future. It is important to realise that this is a two-way process; in a small community and in a sample where some interviewees were found to be related, some of the re-presentations and re-interpretations of the author inevitably made their way back to her. The validity of this interpretation is thus contingent on the agreement of others:

> [t]o interview key actors, and then to write about the interviews, is to seek to connect both with the subjects [topics] of the research and with a community (or communities) of readers. [The] textual presentation may or may not be seen as valid by ... readers (McDowell 1992: 215).

To some extent the author experimented explicitly with this approach over the account in Ch. 5 of restructuring at the chip mill and the alleged sequence of events in the industrial dispute over log truck contracts. Two interviewees on either side of the dispute agreed to read and comment on the author's draft account. Both agreed that the essentials were correct, and that views expressed with which they did not not agree had a valid place in the discussion. However, each tried to reconstruct, or offer an alternative emphasis on, one of two occurrences described, one of which was undoubtedly interpretation but the other of which had been seen by the author as 'revealed fact'. This attempt was across the gender divide but not on a subject much connected with gender and it would have been interesting, although much more difficult, to try a similar exercise on a gendered topic.

9.1.1 Gender experience in Spring Bay

What then <u>can</u> be said about gender experience in Spring Bay? In a report called *Recognising the Needs of a Rural Community,* a local teacher gave her overview:

> The wider community is generally a male dominated society, possibly due to the nature of employment. There are few female role models. Apart from one female principal, positions of authority in the schools are confined to males. In the community, employers are predominantly male.
>
> Amongst the young, a "macho" image is prevalent for boys. This, and the limited employment opportunities for women in the area, has far reaching implications for the girls, in terms of their self esteem and future vocations (Roberts 1990: 9).

Many in the area would agree with this, and many would feel that this is in the nature of things and presents no problems. Others have achieved, or are feeling their way towards, a different gender relationship, not only within their families but also in the community at large. In Chs 5 and 6, statistical data were illustrated in places by short quotations

from interviews. In the following sections, careful but personal generalisations and interpretations are made.

Male experience

Even if this is a male dominated society, and at least partly through the nature of employment, most of the men interviewed are aware that times are changing, whether they approve of it or not. The uncertainty which has been referred to at earlier points is widespread, both through employment and in more general social terms as well. At a local scale, the future of the chip mill is felt to be largely out of local workers' or local managers' hands in the long term; federal resource policies, the level of Japanese demand and Japanese strategic decisions about other sources are acknowledged but company policy is seen as pre-eminent. This leads to a mixture of fatalism, frustration and speculation about possible personal futures, in both award and staff levels. At staff level there is an awareness of company policy moving away from the old easy-going relations of TPFH to a much more hardline approach. Recently some senior men have had meaningful promotion in the line of command to implement new policies, while others have been moved sideways in the corporate structure to what are virtually public relations positions. Some employees have accepted early retirement as part of the restructuring but have stayed in the area; the current economic environment and housing market differentials with metropolitan areas do not lead to job-seeking elsewhere for men in their fifties. These men, however, are in the market for casual jobs and part-time jobs such as bus driving. Some of those who depend on the chip mill at a distance, and particularly small businessmen, are looking for a way out, either of the area or, in the case of truck owners, out of an over-supplied, over-capitalised industry.

The 'man on the land' is similarly feeling stressed. For some male farmers, the size of their holding is insufficient for more than modified subsistence, or possibly dependence on a wife's income from an off-farm job. Some are moving towards new combinations of activities, but the state of the local economy does not offer the same potential for pluriactivity as is detailed in current European studies of 'post-Fordist agriculture'. Many feel that high labour costs leave little choice but to do as much as they can for themselves at least in the short term. Many also feel that they are squeezed between high input costs, particularly of agricultural chemicals and machinery, and low and uncertain primary commodity prices, especially of wool, and thus have the perception of being exploited, though probably few would accept the more radical conclusions about sites of accumulation discussed in Ch. 8. One view expressed, however, was the importance of buying technical advice to get the most return on applications of water, fertilisers and pesticides to the land. Men dependent on marine resources have varying perceptions. Prospects in aquaculture are buoyant and there are innovative approaches and a sense of purpose and direction at both small and large scales; fishermen catching crayfish seem

assured of good prices but as one young and scornful fisherman put it, 'not all the guys have realised that what matters is not how much you catch but how much it costs you to catch it'. Those who have not grasped this point have a slightly puzzled attitude to their lack of prosperity. Both customers and suppliers, aquaculturists and jack mackerel fishermen, are currently coming to terms with the sale of Industrial Fish to a mainland consortium; as the plant has been in the hands of receivers for more than two years, this uncertainty is nothing new, but is yet another example of uncertainties beyond the control of small operators.

The confident young fisherman quoted earlier was typical of the young interviewees. It seemed that only those who could survive successfully in this particular environment had remained, though their industries/occupations differed, as did their employment status. In contrast to the 16-18 year olds, who were outside the interview group, but were visible especially in Triabunna as unemployed and 'roaming the streets', many of the 18-25 year olds, on evidence from parents, had left the area.

The macho role model quoted above did not seem, however, to be universal. Many of the small employers, self-employed and employees in small businesses projected themselves as quietly confident in their own abilities and in their chosen world. This is not to say that they appeared weak or unmasculine, but were prepared to discuss openly employment problems which inevitably had personal aspects. To make a perhaps tenuous generalisation, some of the most macho projections were those whose working life was not in their own control. In particular, the effect of shift-working emerged as a 'necessary evil', part of the job, resented but made use of in the strategies of daily life.

Retired men's experience fits more easily into section 9.2 about whose reality will prevail and will be discussed there. The local effects of uncertainty as applied to men in Spring Bay have to be added to the effects of a general realisation that at the state level, successive governments of different political parties have had little room to manoeuvre, and that the decisions of the federal government, in battling with unemployment, industrial relations and conservation issues, do not necessarily benefit Tasmanians. Taken altogether, it is not surprising that a prevalent feeling is to 'tighten your belt and hang in there'.

Female experience

Women's experience of living in Spring Bay is as varied as that of men. As has been shown in Chs 5 and 7, labour market experience has certain aspects in common which matches with experience elsewhere. An Australian survey of rural women found that there is a significant shortage of work opportunities for both single and married women and a strong demand for part-time work, because of priority given to domestic and child care responsibilities. This results in women with a variety of occupational skills and

experience taking relatively unskilled work and in a range of attempts to create work for themselves and others (Baxter *et al.* 1988: 114). A recent British study shows that in the three rural study areas in England rates of participation in the labour force are lower than nationally. In addition, rural areas experience higher part-time to full-time employment ratios for women than the 55: 45 found nationally, with more casual employment and more self-employment than the norm (Royal Agricultural Society of England 1991 in O'Donovan 1992: 125-126).

Within this broad scenario, how are women's lives structured in Spring Bay? Many older women are happily occupied with domestic responsibilities, hobbies, voluntary work, sport and social engagements; to this some add the pleasures and sometimes shared responsibilities of grandchildren, allowing daughters and daughters-in-law the possibility of some paid employment. Some older women are involved in family businesses, often in a support capacity of turning their hand to anything needed at the time and also 'doing the books'. These as well as the younger women in family businesses are the ones whose input into the business may be unrecognised and undervalued. Some may in effect become the manager of the business, dealing, as appropriate to the business, with accounts, appointments, buyers, payroll, taxation, purchasing and personnel (see Gilchrist (1991) for a view on how circumstances make a manager in the world of plumbing).

The skills which are available, except for nursing and teaching, are largely the result of upbringing and experience. Even basic secretarial skills are in short supply, and anyway most businesses are too small to require full time office help. In the hospitality industry, there is not enough of the more acceptable and interesting waitressing or barwork so that women take on housemaids' tasks too, to make up the amount of part-time work they want. Recent enterprises created by women to make work for themselves or others include a tea shop, two craft shops, a boutique type clothing store, child care at home, a community childcare centre, and a home-based florist business. In addition, two women were responsible for setting up a fortnightly market, in the car park outside one of the supermarkets in Orford an idea quickly copied in Triabunna; these provide outlets for local crafts, including baking and jam-making, and recycling through secondhand stalls, particularly of clothes, furniture and equipment for babies and young children. It is difficult to sort out economic and personal motives in these developments. Some are virtually hobbies, others provide what an unnamed journalist once termed a 'jobette' - bringing in a little money and providing an interest but not disturbing the smooth running of the household, some provide needed facilities, some contribute to household income directly while others provide tax deductions for the main income earner in the household. While these may all contribute to local society, individual households and possibly to individual women's sanity, few of them will do much to provide for future improvement in career prospects or for financial provisions for retirement.

Recent work on women's paid and unpaid work in Australia shows that gender is crucial in defining how the two kinds of work influence each other, and that

> [i]t is women's work, and not men's that is fitted around [domestic and parental] responsibilities, and it is women who disproportionately bear the costs in terms of poorer jobs, limited career opportunities and lower incomes (Baxter *et al.* 1990: 93).

It is argued that women's paid work is considered to be a 'choice' in contrast to men's. It may be true that for some women there is an option to find paid employment or not, but that in many respects the resulting 'choice' of work is less free or unconstrained than for men. At an individual level

> ... the choice being made by many women is between part-time work or no paid work,rather than between full-time and part-time work (Baxter *et al.* 1990: 98).

A plea is also made for the improvement of conditions of employment for part-time work, both in terms of the present and of the responsibilities and opportunities of growing older. In Spring Bay, this is particularly important because, family responsibilities apart, there are few full-time jobs available for women. With more emphasis on providing for retirement through superannuation rather than pensions and benefits, women are likely to be increasingly disadvantaged when they cease to be economically active. Retired women in the area fall into three classes. Some have lived in the area for a considerable time if not all their lives, and continue so in retirement, many with few of their family in the local area. Some have come to the area with their husbands to retire, with differing histories of paid employment or not, and of dependence on their partners. Some have come independently to retire as single women or widows. These groups react differently as they grow older, especially to the loss of their partner (demographically more likely than vice versa). The newcomers to the area are more likely to return to city life. Up till now a major factor in this has been spatial; the problems of relatively isolated houses, of maintaining a car and for some of being non-drivers have meant giving up their rural retreat. One feature of the survey, however, which does not appear in the statistics but emerged in guided conversation, is remarriages among the elderly.

Beyond this, in a non-metropolitan area such as Spring Bay, the range of problems referred to in urban studies of employment policies for women is not present. The problems are not of glass ceilings, the 'mommy track' or the 'velvet ghetto' - the concentration of women in the middle ranks of a small range of professional occupations - except perhaps in education; nor in any real sense are they of gendered occupations, since few women really wish to drive a log truck, work shifts in a workplace which by the nature of the operation is noisy and dirty (though APPM states that it is an equal opportunity employer), fell trees or be away for weeks at a time on a cray boat. Neither at the root of the matter is it a problem of full-time or part-time work, or the provision of child care facilities. The

basic problem is to find some way of providing an increase in some kind of paid employment for women who need or want it, in an area where opportunities are few, and at a time when unemployment in cities means that innovative ideas such as a data inputting centre which does not depend on proximity are unlikely to be proposed.

Jones *et al.* (1990), from a Canadian perspective, apply the term 'individualization' to the way in which each generation of women is now involving itself in work and education in ways unlike those of earlier generations, with a growth in variety of jobs, fluidity in movement between the adult statuses of domestic, full-time and part-time work, and education, and in labour market position, i.e. more women employers and self-employed. It is evident that there is room for much more individualization in Spring Bay, especially in the sense that there is currently little prospect for retraining or for more fulfilling or comfortable employment than scallop or abalone processing for women currently in their 30s and 40s. The net result of this gendered labour market situation, added to perceived deficiencies in live entertainment (despite videos), shopping, some forms of recreation etc. and choice of marriage partners, is that young women are likely to opt for city life, or their families may make a move on the grounds that 'there's nothing for the girls here'. An interesting action is the considerable development of junior and female sport by young women; an uninvolved young teacher offered the opinion that it was one way for young women to get a power base in the community, be taken seriously, and be seen as competent organisers and contenders, and that this may have repercussions on the local political scene in a few years' time.

A feminist interpretation of the importance of the local, in attacking the ideological bases of some postmodern writing, comes close to Massey's concept of place as a hub and also offers an insight into some of the reasons why women have been more active in local than national politics:

> The local is only a fragmented set of possibilities that can be articulated into a momentary politics of time and place. ... feminism can render the local into something workable, somewhere to be worked upon. This is to take the local not as the end point, but as the start. This is not to idealize the local as the real, but to look at the ways in which injustices are naturalized in the name of the immediate. In conceiving of the local as a nodal point, we can begin to deconstruct its movements and its meanings ... we can begin to loosen its ideological affects [sic]. In uncoupling the event of patriarchy from its site, we move beyond the silent agony of "the problem that has no name". In looking at how location disqualifies certain experiences, we begin to realize that the knowledge of locale is important and powerful (Probyn 1990: 187).

She warns, however, as Massey has warned, that 'in creating our own centers and our own locals, we tend to forget that our centers displace others into the peripheries of our own making' (Probyn 1990: 176). Continuing to draw on Rich (1986: 212) she asks "At the center of what?", a thought expressed differently perhaps by several women in Spring Bay.

Interaction

The two preceding sub-sections have attempted to isolate some of the experience which are particular to each gender while not discounting the other. Men and women together in context present an even more difficult area about which to generalise. The issue of exploitation of women's unpaid domestic labour is seen on reflection as being beyond the scope of this study; although it figures largely in feminist literature, both with regard to the economics of the household, petty commodity production and patriarchal relations, a different and more focused methodology and a background in psychology would be necessary to address these issues satisfactorily. The same applies to the more concrete aspects of exploitation and patriarchy, and to other manifestations of marriage breakdown. Domestic violence, incestuous rape, abortion and single parenting are all problems which were mentioned in interviews. They represent the dark side of gender relations, which is not represented by the statistical data on marriage status in Ch. 5; although they are undoubtedly partially linked to the employment situation and the uncertainties engendered by it, the nature of those links could form a thesis in itself. Discussion on interaction will therefore be restricted to the extent of change in domestic division of labour.

One of the advantages of the concept of pluriactivity is that the gender division of labour in domestic matters and in the allocation of employment roles have merged in a wider and deeper conceptualisation of household strategies and the relation with capital. Nevertheless it is still fruitful to single out the routine household tasks from the total nexus. The picture given in Ch. 6 from the survey data indicates that in households in which a senior male and female are both present, there is a fairly clear element of gender specialisation in household tasks and that women being employed had not significantly changed the pattern. This has been endorsed by several recent studies in Australia and overseas:

> ... the most striking impression to emerge from the Southampton data is one of conformity to patterns discovered elsewhere ... the growth of employment for women has not significantly affected the broad outline of task allocation within households (Pinch and Storey 1992: 10-11).

This British study also showed that where one or more of the partners is self-employed, a more rigid division of tasks exists than for most couples and this is true in the Spring Bay experience, probably because of the greater control of the labour process within the household.

In Ch. 6, it was made clear that the category of reply 'both' did not imply equal division of the task in question but did imply a sharing. This applied to routine tasks and to self-provisioning and self-servicing. A recent study in New South Wales asked 65 couples, both in full-time paid employment, to estimate in detail the time devoted to domestic work both by themselves and their partners. Both men and women respondents believe they

share specific tasks equally, but further probing showed that men underestimated the time their partners spend on domestic work by an average of 17 hours per week, women underestimated their own contribution by 15.5 hours on average, and that women still do the bulk of the unpaid work (Bittman and Lovejoy 1991). This 'pseudo-mutuality' is of interest because 86 per cent of the men surveyed agreed that housework, childcare and shopping should be shared equally. In the Spring Bay survey, people were not asked what they believed about gender division of domestic labour on the assumption that actions, albeit reported actions, speak louder than words, but Bittman and Lovejoy's work casts doubt on that assumption, if respondents are unknowingly and with best intentions, not telling things as they are. Nevertheless, the 'both' category in the Spring Bay survey elicited valuable information about how tasks are shared and indeed the fact that they are shared, in contrast to a generation ago; this sharing seems more likely, however, to be the result of peer group pressure and other factors than a direct response to economic restructuring. The Director of the Australian Institute of Family Studies took this view when he said that men were at last learning to pull their weight when it came to housework; despite surveys which showed working women still bore the brunt of the housework, men were learning to change their ways (Hobart Mercury 1992). In the meantime, domestic power is still perhaps a matter of 'negotiating an unequal division of labour within a framework of equality' (from Bittman and Lovejoy's (1991) title).

In Ch. 6, the amount which the senior male of many families contributes to the household apart from earned income was pointed out and elaborated. An interesting comment was made on this by someone who grew up in a large family in another rural part of Tasmania: 'That's nothing new - it's always been like that - it gives the men an excuse to be out of the house'. The boredom of much domestic routine and a preference for male company is implicit in this viewpoint (Dempsey 1988: 435).

Also implicit in this is a view of territory. Much has been written lately about the associated concepts of differentiation, inclusion and exclusion, presence and absence (Shields 1992: 184) and that

> ... spatial differentiation also manifests itself in the patriarchal division between the workplace and the sphere of domesticity as 'work' and 'non-work', serious and frivolous, masculine and feminine (Shields 1992: 186).

The concept of the home as feminine territory is deep and longstanding. DIY has contributed to altering this view, but a day's shooting, fishing, or cutting firewood may be as much on male territory as a night at some of the local pubs.

This section begins with gendered experience of everyday life and ends with gendered concepts of place. In the next section, other perceptions of place, often in tension with each other, are considered, and the power implications of whose view of reality will prevail are raised.

9.2 Whose reality and who will own it?

Throughout the thesis, the term 'non-metropolitan' is used to avoid yet another dichotomy - urban/rural. To speak of the urban/rural continuum had become a way out of the problem, but recent thinking has questioned even the idea of a continuum between the two, preferring the concept of a diversity of processes linking a non-metropolitan area into different arenas of activity and producing within the area a mosaic of overlapping spaces which are the purlieu of different groups. These groups are in tension because of competition not only for usable space but for some of the attributes of space, variously referred to as ambience, landscape, heritage and perhaps even plain 'peace and quiet'. However, '[t]he organization of space is regarded as a purposeful social product' (Wolch and Dear 1989: 6) and the manifestation of social purpose and the social actions by which purposes are achieved are becoming increasingly interesting. In effect these are power struggles, but not necessarily the overt confrontations of industrial relations or city planning. Power, in local matters, is much more subtle, and this subtlety is captured in a discussion of Foucault's views:

> Power ... is enabling, exercised rather than possessed, relational and immanent, neither institution nor structure nor strength but a "complex strategical situation" which is constantly and locally shifting (Matless 1992: 46 quoting Foucault 1981: 92-94).

This complex strategical situation has many actors, operating through many different networks and institutions. Local issues, however, both in theory and in the real world, have two major interrelated aspects, the nature of rurality and the conservation/development/sustainability debate.

9.2.1 The nature of rurality

The word 'rural' invokes different pictures in different people's minds. For some it is a peaceful productive farming landscape changing only with the seasons. For others it incorporates other productive primary activities such as forestry which must by their nature take place in non-urban areas. Many city dwellers see a 'sanitised' or 'manicured' rurality, a visually pleasant recreational area with facilities for brief visits for specific purposes, for longer holiday periods away from urban life, or with the possibility of combining a 'rural lifestyle' with employment in the city. All of these realities, or myths as some term them, co-exist in space, each with its own aspirations, problems and solutions which have to be negotiated with all the other demands on people and resources, some of which are dealt with at different scales and levels (Mormont 1990). Simply equating rural with agriculture has been seen to be inadequate. In Britain, there has been a shift from an emphasis on over-production in agriculture to the consumption aspects of rural areas, and the re-definition of dominant values, where

> ... the perception by urban populations of rural areas as sources of amenity and environmental values and for living rather than producing is increasingly if reluctantly reflected in state policy (Marsden 1990: 381).

In Spring Bay, there are three main groups, which incorporate those discussed in Chs 7 and 8. There are those who earn a living in the area; those who live in the area but are not employed there, including retirees who have moved to the area after retirement and the currently small group who live permanently in the area but work elsewhere; and the 'shackies' who have a holiday or second home in the area, and use it intermittently, some only between Christmas and Easter and others at weekends throughout the year as well.

Tensions between groups to achieve and maintain their perceived ideal are not along simple and clear cut lines. The differing objectives of groups on the Municipal Council arose in Ch. 8 in relation to building more houses. Those who wish to maintain the *status quo* include older shackies, who remember quieter times without many day visitors on the beaches; newer retirees who may find there are plans for a subdivision close to them; and some of the more conservative and traditional residents and landowners, who perhaps are reluctant, for example, to have land compulsorily acquired for road widening aimed mainly at the tourist trade. The peace and quiet theme of rural mythology is likely to be shattered, not so much by log trucks and industrial machinery, but by 'the Orford symphony'[1] of lawn-mowers and chain saws at weekends.

The variety of groupings and 'who wins and who loses' is illustrated by conflict over beach access, which has surfaced in four forms. The location of a new boat ramp in the Orford area two years ago produced an example of the 'Not In My Back Yard' syndrome, intensified by the fact that users of the ramp would be mainly non-locals and so by the question of parking. The closure of the public camping ground at Raspins Beach Reserve in 1990 has deprived visitors of a prized amenity as well as local shops of revenue, and the issues of re-opening and who will pay for necessary upgrading have not been resolved. At West Shelly Beach, a new second home owner succeeded in purchasing from the Council a right of way adjoining his property and leading down to the beach. At East Shelly Beach, two groups of permanent residents have been at odds over the use of the foreshore, in this instance complicated by a gender divide: a group of women have been planting native plants along the foreshore, an area whose legal status is problematic; a man, who wishes to use his tractor to take his fishing boat down for launching, objects to this interference with what he regards as an area of practical use and has persisted in removing the plants. The women have given photos of this removal taking place to the local constabulary, who have taken no action because of the ambiguous status of foreshore rights. In a near-by subdivision, non-native trees planted along a boundary were removed and 'greenie shackies' were blamed.

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[1] A phrase of the late Dr Walter Styasny, when a retired professional musician

It is apparent from this that not all the tensions are economic, though some apparently not have economic components, particularly through property values. Values and ethics also come in to the situation, often expressed in terms of what sort of a place specific parts of Spring Bay should be and often containing a hidden agenda. The Orford Residents and Ratepayers Association promotes the interests of its members ostensibly for the good of all but potentially at the expense of other areas in the municipality, since rates and grants are finite sources of improvements. The inauguration in 1992 of the Triabunna Progress Association and of the Triabunna Chamber of Commerce appears to be partly a response to this. The opening to the general public of the W road, built as a forestry road and used by log trucks, provides a short cut to and from the Copping area and the road to Port Arthur, and access to an area of relict temperate rainforest in the Sandspit Reserve (Figs 1.1 and 3.1, to two barbecue areas and two spectacular scenic view points. It also provoked much discussion, in a demonstration of how particular discourses organise particular ways of understanding reality in order to provide conditions for the existence and legitimacy of particular institutional and political arrangements. The real estate agent supporting the residents on the main road in the context of 24 hour a day carting of logs appears less devious by comparison, but all these examples have sectional value judgments underpinning them, and have implications for the ways in which rural places are being changed.

Another image of rurality is that country people are cooperative, enterprising and work together to achieve desirable local outcomes. In Ch. 6, it was pointed out that individual involvement in local organisations, even of sports clubs, is low. It is apparent, however, that cooperative and community-based initiatives do occur and can also involve a combination of state and local effort. They tend to involve a specific goal, as for example raising funds to replace an uninsured home after a house fire, but there is only a certain amount of time, money and skills in a local area and community interests are therefore in competition to tap it. The priorities, and perhaps the relative effectiveness of respective organisers, are reflected in the emphases on old and young rather than, for example, to heritage values; perhaps it should be noted that sporting facilities and ongoing support are already well organised. The new Eldercare units at Triabunna were achieved through action involving the local council, the State government, Rotary, the Caring Club and individual fund-raisers. One of the ongoing initiatives is the Home and Community Care Scheme which aims at helping keep elderly and disabled people at home rather than in institutions. This is regarded by some as winding down one form of welfare provision rather than as necessarily a positive social action; it has, however, provided new and improved services in the field of mobility for the elderly in the form of providing regular visits to shops, library, medical facilities and to Hobart. Other initiatives include a communal playgroup, a new playground in Orford and a part-time childcare project in a house provided by APPM for which a group of young women obtained state funding. A

project of a different type is the establishment of a pioneer park at Triabunna with the cooperation of the National Trust. Not all initiatives are successful; a pilot project in 1990 involving the Commonwealth Department of Education, Employment and Training where local retired people helped local young unemployed to acquire skills was a complete failure, partly because it attempted to bridge a gap between two very disparate groups. A current undertaking is attempting to obtain support and funding for a day care centre for the elderly to give their carers some respite. The Brownie House in Orford, the result of previous cooperative efforts, is no longer in use; as was pointed out in a Country Areas Program Report,

> [a]ctivities frequently fold because either interest wanes or the coordinator leaves the district or retires (Roberts 1990: 9).

The plan is to buy the house for the Day Care scheme using a bequest from an elderly man living in the Eldercare units who recently committed suicide, and a federal government grant of $70 000 was obtained early in 1993.

There is no real indication as to which forms of reality will prevail. 'The ambiguity of lived experience' (Thrift 1990: 274), expressed here in the fact that the values of different groups prevailed in different circumstances, precludes any immediately obvious answer. Local perception of rural values and rural reality are also a part of a wider picture in which the world at large, and Tasmania in particular, struggle to find a sustainable path through extremes of environmental conservation and unfettered development, and to which attention now turns.

9.2.2 Development versus conservation

In the course of interviewing, those who had noticed the heading 'Department of Geography and Environmental Studies' on the introductory letter frequently asked if the interviewer was a 'greenie', the universal popular and possibly derogatory term in the area, in contrast to the Tasmanian environmentalists' own use of 'the Greens'. The interviewer used a previously thought-out vague statement about the principal interest of an economic geographer being in jobs. This was accepted in general; the argument put forward by the greens and some academics that jobs and environmental ethics are not opposites, and that increasing productivity makes resource development a poor method of job creation (Kirkpatrick 1987, 1988) was familiar only to a small minority. The question was useful, however, in that many respondents came back to green issues later in the interview schedule.

Spring Bay, although it has a considerable economic dependence on cutting down native forests and building houses along beautiful beaches, and contains Maria Island National Park, is not an area, such as areas of World Heritage status, in the forefront of environmental confrontation. A recent Sunday demonstration at the woodchip mill was

not locally initiated but was part of the Wilderness Society's publicly declared 'Long Hot Summer' of non-violent action (Bendeich 1993a). Nevertheless what emerged from comments in interviews was less polarised than might have been expected, either from media items on resource based communities or from items in local publications such as,

> [a]t Triabunna, for example, the anti-conservation feeling is quite strong so that those with "green" tendencies are often objects of derision (Roberts 1990: 8).

On the other side of the issue, in Orford the local primary school has been under attack from some quarters for accepting a degree of sponsorship from APPM. The major comments made were variants on the theme that the greenies kept the Company honest, often embellished by examples of former bad practice, particularly in logging. Admiration was expressed by most unexpected people for the senior Green Independent Member of the House of Assembly, Dr Bob Brown, mainly for his stand in supporting the log truck drivers, but also in general for raising questions which the community at large must face up to for the future. Part of this apparent lack of polarisation, however, is due to people counting themselves as 'a bit of a greenie' whose stance, especially on forest management, would not appear so to many in the green movement. Within the green movement, both internationally and in Tasmania, definitions of environmental ethics and idealistic publications about green economics seem to have gone ahead of praxis (but see Eckersley 1990 for a change in emphasis). In too many circumstances, the green groups' idea of negotiating has been that only the other side needs to make concessions, a concept which has led to greens withdrawing from, for example, the Forest and Forest Industries Strategy initiative. More recently, their withdrawal from the Ministerial Working Group for Rare, Vulnerable and Endangered Species resulted in the bizarre situation of the publication of *Working Together to Protect Tasmania's Plants and Animals*, with input from government departments, university departments and the Tasmanian Farmers and Graziers Association and none from the Combined Environment Groups (Tasmania, Department of Parks, Wildlife and Heritage 1992: 26). Despite the term Combined Environment Group, environmentalists are becoming more differentiated than previously, and it is more difficult to use a blanket term for the various components. It is noteworthy that two of the groups have changed their public image and have replaced an almost hippy projection in television interviews with a much more middleclass 'neat casual' appearance, even including for males a now apparently obligatory collar and tie. Nevertheless the arguments and views put forward by environmentalists vary considerably in content, vehemence and style, and anyone not immediately involved in the environmental movement might well be confused about some of the issues.

In this context of changed perceptions and projections there may be some hope of finding middle ground and working towards sustainable objectives, and this perhaps is what is developing in Spring Bay to replace more simplistic polarisation. Landcare groups, some

supported by the Department of Primary Industry, aim to fight land and water degradation in grass-roots approaches balancing the sustainable productivity and environmental dimensions. A Landcare group held an open day in the old settlement of Weilangta in 1991 to demonstrate their way of living and their care for a bush community. The tensions between alternative life-stylers and the community at large are partly based on some misunderstandings, such as that they do not pay rates, and developments of this sort could ameliorate these misapprehensions. In 1992 the Warden of Spring Bay Municipality held a meeting to test community attitudes to Landcare and a group of more than 40 identified categories of concern including foreshore management, whole farm management, pesticides and pollution. A steering committee was set up and has visited several trouble spots identified in the meeting (Central Coast Courier 1992; Landcare News Tasmania 1992)).

In some arenas, however, debate between environmentalists from outside the area and local interests is still acrimonious. Duck shooting, while not attracting the attention and confrontation it does in Victoria, is a case in point. Another is the constraints allegedly imposed on roadworks on the Tasman Highway by the existence of a patch of *Epacris gunnii* and *Xyris gracilis* ssp *tasmanica*, rated as of local significance because remote from other known populations by Coates (1991), and as 'that bloody weed' by a participant in the roadworks. The setting up of a Marine Park including part of Mercury Channel is attacked by local fisherman as it encompasses an area used for fishing in certain wind conditions when other areas are dangerous.

Wider concern over the threat of building to increasing areas of coastline has its local variant. At the moment the best protectors of coastline are paradoxically the big farming properties, most of whom discourage public access except for the legal public access requirement of 3 metres along the shore or cliff top, but whose ownership prevents the development of 'shackurbia', which equally discourages public access.

Environmental questions in general are problematic partly because the situation is so fluid that ordinary people are at a loss to know what has been decided and what is still under discussion. The recent change of government complicated the issues, and the situation is compounded by what the present liberal Premier of Tasmania termed 'coercive federalism' (Hobart Mercury 1992d), a process which happened to his labour predecessor as well - the Commonwealth Government overriding the state government on environmental and other issues. Partly, however, things are ambiguous because they are changing. Everyone is willy-nilly having to come to terms with the tensions between growthist philosophies and environmental ethics, and competing claims and conflicting evidence about big issues such as the greenhouse effect and 'that hole up there' as well as specific local issues. Of all the anecdotes told the interviewer to illustrate personal viewpoints, the paradox of the swans' eggs at Little Swanport best captures some of the nuances of good intentions,

frustration and confusion which are implied in the current intersection of old and new ideas and working out of new acceptances. The black swans are a protected species and are undergoing a population explosion, to the extent that local Parks, Wildlife and Heritage personnel allegedly have felt it necessary to inspect nests and break surplus eggs. Some local people, while sympathising with the protected status, felt that this method of control was a waste of resources. They did not want to introduce a new generation to eating swan's eggs, but they anticipated the rangers' visits, removed eggs and left them on the doorsteps of elderly people in the area, who would appreciate and know how to use them.

On a wider scale there are more conflicting opinions. The bumper-sticker ethics such as *Think globally, act locally, Reduce, re-use, recycle* and *Live simply that others may simply live* which reflect one way of influencing long term public opinion, involve much more far-reaching issues.

> If we are to meet the challenge of global environmental change we must embrace sustainable development, but to do so involves examining many of the core values of industrial societies, and the motives which lead human beings to behave in ways which are unsustainable. The tortuous road towards greater global responsibility for environmental change will not, ultimately, be built on the uncertain predictions of natural scientists. Instead, it is likely to be built upon the daily lives of human subjects, and the recognition that these lives involve choices of global proportions (Redclift 1992: 42, emphasis added).

Redclift's view implies a responsibility at the level of the household decisions which have been discussed earlier in terms of Spring Bay, and lifts the importance of some of those decisions from the level of mundane coping strategies to world changing proportions. Redclift, however, contrasts daily lives of human beings with the work of scientists rather than with the pressures of capitalist producers. Those daily lives are also tied up with structures and relationships which constrain choices, and the interactions of individuals, institutions and structures is next considered.

9.3 Structure and agency

In Ch 1 the realist position over structure and agency is set out: that there are unobservable social structures which influence and are influenced by actions of individuals: that these structures and agents in society, and the way they tend to act, can be identified; and that it is possible to analyse the properties of social structures which enable them to produce or undergo particular kinds of change. Structures exist in a variety of interdependent relationships, some in lasting and spatially widespread forms, others in more spatially and temporally restricted forms and the reproduction of social structures is a contingent product of human agency.

9.3.1 Pluriactivity as a link between structure and agency

Thrift (1990: 24) in one of his wide-ranging and thought-provoking writings, commented that ' ... some time ago now in geography, there was a debate on structure and agency. On current evidence structure won!', arguing that human agency remains essentially untheorised in geography. It might alternatively be said that the structure/agency debate has been around in geographical theory for a long time, and that there is some evidence for a re-emphasis on agency. This is partly the ongoing effect of grass-roots action in the early 80s when local pressure groups were seen to achieve results (Lovering 1989: 202) and this had a flow-on into academic theory. In broader terms, the discussion over postmodern approaches, with emphasis on difference, multiple voices and deconstruction, has led at least to an increasing sensitivity to the existence and value of non-mainstream agencies and to the questioning of previously accepted terminology. Nevertheless, as the terms imply, agency and structure remain part of the broader structuralist/realist spectrum of approach rather than of postmodernism itself, and the question posed in Thrift (1983b: 37) of how to move between social structure and human agency is still relevant. Thrift's suggestion, however, that the labour process is probably the main link between agency and structure perpetuates the traditional emphasis in economic geography on production and paid work. A feminist sociologist has argued that

> ... in demanding of a theory of society that it incorporate the domestic domain, implicitly this critique is asking that it offer an account of unique personality. In this requirement, the feminist sociological agenda promises to cut the Gordian Knot which has beset sociological theory from the outset and caused it to take the form of a contradictory and incoherent theoretical enterprise. This Gordian knot is the society/individual dichotomy which ... sociology in an especial fashion inherited from liberal political and economic theory. It would be something remarkable if it turned out that by including the domestic domain in its construction of social life, sociology thereby transcended the individual/society dichotomy (Yeatman 1986: 172).

The concept of the pluriactive household as used in Chs 7 and 8 provides a link which offers still greater possibilities than just the domestic domain.

In Ch. 1 reference was made to Thrift's (1983) criticism that an assumption had crept in that the specific is only interesting as an example of more general laws and tendencies but that specific features can act as generators of different kinds of organisations of social action. Sayer's (1989a) theoretical arguments about generating theory from unique, as opposed to specific, examples has tended to intensify that assumption. It is, however, possible to be interested in difference for its own sake. The point was made in Ch. 8 that the expression of pluriactivity in each household was different. While these differences are interesting as illustrating the general tendencies, and one of the tendencies is towards uniqueness, <u>each</u> household pattern is of interest <u>in its own right</u> not as an idiographic exercise but because it <u>is</u> unique and different and an expression of the power of individual agency to put together a means of livelihood for a group of people in all the conflicting

uncertainties of the late twentieth century. This ability to recognise the unique is of interest in itself. Is this another example of the influence of theory on content, of the impossibility of standing outside one's own time? Is it because households and pluriactivity are being examined at a time when academics have been sensitised to difference that they can be acknowledged each as unique, rather than examined to find regularities and likenesses, and the implications of that uniqueness sought? Some of these implications have been expressed as follows:

> [a]s Seccombe (1980: 38) has pointed out: 'The capitalist mode of production provides an historically unprecedented leeway to its laboring masses in arranging their means of subsistence'. These arrangements are not dictated by capital and cannot be understood solely as a product of the dynamics by which capital reproduces itself (Collins 1990: 11).

Where the concept of pluriactivity differs from that of the 'means of subsistence' in the above quotation is that pluriactivity explicitly is extended to include paid work within the capitalist system as well as the domestic economy and, indeed, social transfer payments. There is, however, an implication in the quotation that whatever variety occurs, it occurs under the umbrella of capitalism, so that the questions are only rephrased:

> [i]f such work lies outside the inner dynamic of capital accumulation, then we need to ask why it does, and how it articulates with that dynamic in specific times and places. The task for analysis becomes the exploration of the ways in which capital is supported by social arrangements that are not directly given as its conditions of existence, the ways these social arrangements are reproduced, and the contradictions that arise from their connections to capital (Collins 1990: 11).

Much of the routine household work, mainly done by females, is outside the dynamic of capital accumulation, except in the restricted sense of household savings and the notion of a family wage. The manner of the day to day reproducing of the main income earner, both by the labour of the household and by his/her own initiatives, as rested, fed, reclothed and ready for each working day, is not dictated by capital. The great variety of ways in which this is done in Spring Bay has been explored in the survey and thesis. In the matter of the provision of midday food (or mid-work in the case of shift workers), some people come home to a meal prepared by a partner and some take a cut lunch which is prepared by different household members in different ways: one man insists that his wife cuts fresh sandwiches at 4 am; one man came in to cut his own in mid afternoon while his wife was ironing and talking to the interviewer; in several households, the senior male does the children's lunches as well as his own; and some truck drivers use their CB radios to order take-aways from a commercial outlet according to the way their schedule has worked out. Some of this choice is related to work conditions laid down under industrial awards over length of lunch breaks, some is undoubtedly patriarchal, some is negotiated between partners - deliberately thought out as the best way to suit individual circumstances of

time, space and family cycle, and some is unthinking tradition, the way Mum (or Dad) always did it. This variety in one detail of daily life has also been explored in others.

Some of the ways in which these social arrangements are reproduced have also been explored, in the ways in which daughters join their mothers in certain tasks, and sons their fathers. However, in households in which there is only a single adult, with or without children, there is a move away from the traditional 'getting a woman in to clean and cook', towards the household managing for itself, often with the help of prepared foods and take-aways.

Within both daily living and decisions about long-term strategies, the relation between individuals, free to make their own decisions, and the dynamics of capital has another facet. The media and the advertising industry through them project the image of the consumer society, and the degree to which individuals knowingly or unconsciously accept or reject them is part of their link to capitalism. In Spring Bay, many those interviewed made clear their aversion to certain aspects of consumerism, and in particular credit cards and the ethos behind them; others, by what they did not say, and by the demonstration of conspicuous consumption in their homes and lifestyles have taken a different course. The degree to which they are linked to capitalism is a choice which is more apparent to some than to others, but all are tied in in some way. Even households which do not use the products of industrial canning or the supermarket frozen food compartments buy soap and detergents. Even those labelled as modified subsistent in Ch. 7 have chosen and indeed must have car transport as part of their way of life and thereby are adding to the accumulation of local petrol stations and the transnational oil companies. Providing 'the infrastructure of personal consumption' (Sayer and Walker 1992: 89) is a formidable component of capitalist demand at all levels from local take-aways through tour operators to transnational chemical companies. Some households contribute to capitalist accumulation by their spending patterns much more than others, and also distribute it between local and national or transnational capital in different proportions by where they choose or have no choice to spend.

Some of the contradictions which arise from these links to capital have been discussed in the way in which households act as both producers and consumers, and in the way in which in some small business households the surplus profit from labour is drawn off by the costs of necessary inputs to contribute more to accumulation of others than of the small business itself. In Spring Bay, the current attempt of APPM to return from a 35 hour working week to a 38 hour week for the same remuneration is partly the result of a downturn in the market in Japan, in other words fewer individuals and groups buying paper, while jobs at APPM Burnie depend on more people buying its Reflex photocopying paper. Photocopying is no longer the prerogative of offices, libraries and schools; the drapery shop in Triabunna has recently installed a photocopier as a commercial service and an additional source of profit.

The importance of personal consumption has recently been stressed in theoretical terms:

> [i]t is important to take consumption seriously as a moment in the process of production and the expenditure of human labor as a whole. The dialectics of capitalist production and consumption have, if anything intensified over the last century as the mass of industrial goods has risen, consumption has taken more and more human energy, and the links between producers and consumers have grown tighter (Sayer and Walker 1992: 85).

This is a move away from the earlier view of the post-industrial society as portrayed by Bell (1973) and others as a 'new era of liberation for the masses of consumers'. Sayer and Walker also argue that the division of labour has shifted towards work done in selling and using industrial products, expending free time and disposing of higher incomes. In consequence, the relations of producer to consumer, and the possibilities for human welfare and personal satisfaction have been significantly altered, in that it is no longer possible to think of work as an individual pursuit or consumption as an individual satisfaction. In this view, it is impossible to escape from the forces of production which also serve capital while serving 'those who live with capitalism' (Sayer and Walker 1992: 106).

One of the questions which has to be addressed over the intersections, between knowledgeable and capable human agents and the wider social systems and social structures in which they are necessarily implicated is that of the nature of knowledgeability and intentionality.

9.3.2 Knowledge and intentionality

Attempts to transcend the agency/structure dualism have raised the question of whether agents must be intentional actors (Giddens 1984). This involves consideration of the nature of action and of ways of knowing. Intention is not to be equated with action; there must be capability to carry out the intention, not merely capability in the sense of physical ability but of power. In the same way that power can be argued not to exist unless it is exercised, agents who can not carry out their intentions cease to be agents. Giddens put forward a model which integrates unacknowledged conditions of action, reflexive monitoring of action, rationalisation of action, motivation of action and unintended consequences of action which seeks to broaden agency beyond intentional activity and reactive behaviour (Fig. 9.1). This might at first appear to refer to abnormal action, not to an everyday occurrence such as a man coming home from work and deciding to cut the lawn before the evening meal, but in fact it provides a possible theorisation of all actions. This may be seen in relation to the argument that agents act on varying levels of knowledge. The exploration of what effect knowledge and more importantly lack of knowledge has on agency can be seen as a relationship between prevailing ideology or hegemonic ideas and the understanding of particular individuals or groups. Thrift (1983b: 45) analyses the idea of 'unknowing' into five interrelated types, each applicable to members or certain members of a society, a locality, a region:

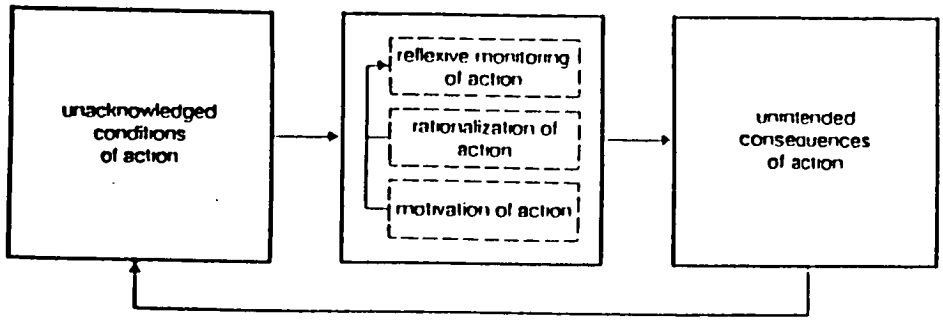

Fig 9.1 Giddens' stratification model of action
Source: Giddens (1984: 5) adapted by Gregory (1986: 203)

1. unknown and not possible to know in terms of being totally unknown at a particular time;
2. not understood in terms of not being within the current frame of meaning;
3. hidden in terms of being hidden from certain members;
4. undiscussed in terms of taken for granted as 'true' or 'natural'; and
5. distorted in terms of being known only in a distorted fashion.

He sees these affecting agency in that no social group can ever achieve more than a partial understanding of its conditions of existence, the degree being contingent upon other practices within the social order. This gives rise to 'a creative process of limitation and a limiting process of creation' (Thrift 1983b: 45). This apparent paradox is, however, helpful in understanding ways in which social life goes forward under conditions that are neither fully comprehended nor entirely intended by social actors but which are nevertheless part of the production and reproduction of society and place.

In the Spring Bay survey, the importance of availability of knowledge was actually raised with the interviewer by one of the blockading log truck owner-drivers. He was very conscious of the nature of the power struggle between the group of which he was a part and the company, that his group were in command at that time because they were exercising their physical presence but that the balance would change as soon as the trucks were moved. He personally was most conscious of the power of the writs which had been issued but not been able to be served, as they had to be handed to a person, and the persons in question kept out of sight. He said he had 'never been illegal' and had no intention of being so, because that could be used as a weapon against him in future. He asked if he could read the author's completed work, although he patently knew much more about industrial relations than she did, saying that in negotiating you could never know too much about your area and what was going on, from as many viewpoints as possible. His own view of the opposition was couched in terms of both personalities and institutional structure, and of strategies available to his group and the company in different

eventualities. Not all his group had this attitude, and knowledge of the differences in the group and empathy with them was part of his involvement.

It is easy to sound condescending in such a discussion of the knowledge base of others' actions but this is not the intention - the link between intention and text is a another part of this particular construction of agency. The author was aware, in the course of some of the interviews, that she was contributing to an understanding of the social construction of everyday life, particularly over the gender division of domestic tasks. Some replies were of the nature of 'oh, the girls and I take care of that' as if there were no question about it (see 4 above) while other responses ranged from 'Why are you asking that?'and 'However are you going to write all this up?' to 'You know, I never thought about that' and 'I'd like a copy of that to show my wife/husband'.

There were other aspects of unknowing as the basis for action which also became apparent, especially in relation to environmentalism. The reasons for conserving old growth forests, the importance of biodiversity, and the basis of concern over the greenhouse effect are not known or not accepted (in a mixture of 2, 4 and 5 above) especially in an area where immediate employment is dependent on not accepting such views.

9.3.3 Scale, place and time in structure and agency

It is possible, therefore, to spell out some of the interconnection of routine and repetitive strategic acts of agents or groups of agents with long-term, large-scale development. Dear and Wolch (1989: 6) have clarified some of the confusion existing by their differentiation between agents, institutions and structures. Agents, in their conception, are influential individual human actors who determine the precise observable outcomes of any social interaction. Structures include the long-term, deep-seated social practices which control daily life such as the family, law and capitalism. Institutions are the phenomenal forms of structures, including for example finance corporations and state departments. Individual actions take place within a particular structural context, but they can also transform the context itself. Any outcome is necessarily a consequence of the reciprocal relationship between relatively long-term structural forces and the shorter term routine practices of individual human agents.

Three points arise from this. The first is a reflection on what is most visible to observers. One consequence of accepting that events change at different speeds is that when we look at Spring Bay, for example we have more chance of recognising agency in action than the slower-moving actions, reactions and interactions of capitalism. Meso level structures such as the labour market can be identified in which capital's actions and reaction to agents' actions and reactions to capital are woven together into a modified form, which in turn may form the basis of new actions and interactions, both in the original place and possibly in other places. The realist approach in theory aims to elucidate the deeper, hidden

structures of capitalism but at a local level it is easy to understand the recent emphasis placed by theorists on the middle level of theory and structure.

Second, Dear and Wolch's explication makes it easier to see the importance of individuals within capitalist structures. The concept of labour as a collective agency/structure made up of individuals has been more acceptable than 'capital' similarly constructed. Part of the problem is the lack of coherent conceptualisation of multinational corporations as social agents as well as agents of capital. Events in Australia in the past two years, when the heads of corporations have been held accountable in the courts for the excesses of the 1980s, and have been publicly confronted at annual general meetings and in media interviews, have done much to alter the once monolithic face of capital. An increasing number of ordinary people have their superannuation directly or indirectly in an institution such as the AMP Society, and this helps to break down the 'us and them' image of the labour/capital relation. It may not yet be common knowledge that the big institutions are major shareholders in most of Australia's public companies, but the much publicised and unsuccessful drive to save an integral part of Australian life, Arnotts Biscuits, from take-over by the US corporation, Campbells, urging the public to apply pressure to the big institutional shareholders, has done much to spread the word.

Australians, and Tasmanians in particular, over the past two decades have been able to see the construction of a new force by pressure groups within and outside the area. Those within the movement may distinguish between deep ecology, ecological stewardship and ecofeminism but for Tasmanians who have watched television, read the press or participated in direct action, the green movement or environmentalism has been created out of a melée of people, actions, events, comments and reactions. At the moment, this can probably be regarded as a force (i.e. an agency) which may increasingly challenge capitalism in the future, but the greens hope it will evolve into 'long-term, deep-seated social practices which control daily life' (i.e. a structure).

The third point is the role of space and time, which act as operators rather than parameters, part of the action rather than the stage. It might be thought the container or stage view of space could not have survived though all the discussion of the difference space makes to social action and the role of social action in modifying space. Dear and Wolch, however, link the spatial and the social as

> ... a complex synthesis of objects, patterns and processes derived from the simultaneous interaction of different levels of social process, operating at varying geographical scales and chronological stages ... collapsed on to a single territory (Dear and Wolch 1989: 7).

It is one of the effects of the case study, one of the new certainties referred to earlier, a gut feeling that is part of the construction of knowledge if not of formal science, that Spring Bay can never be a tract of land like a chess board on which pieces move. This is not to

invoke personification nor romanticism of the Gaia variety, but a synthesis of the subtle and constantly evolving relationship between space and human activity in which social relations are constituted through and in space.

The relation of a local area such as Spring Bay in all its complexity to other areas has been a matter of much theorising over hierarchies. The implication of hierarchy is the unequal spread of power; behind the spatial logic of Christaller, for example, is an assumption that less frequently occurring activities have more importance, as well as or through attracting greater numbers from wider areas, and that large concentrations of diverse activities are of greater value than small simpler ones. The uniqueness of place is now better captured through new concepts of places as hubs of inter-relationships. Some of the implications of this change in conceptualisation are now taken up.

9.4 The local and the global

What is meant by the term global when used in opposition to local? Globalisation is certainly something different from internationalisation (Thrift 1992). It has recently been defined as 'the increasing salience of international definitions and valuations of labour and production' (Marsden 1992: 225). Very often it also appears to mean tapping in to structures which operate at a global scale. It means being part of a global telecommunications network, attached to 'the biggest machine in the world' which enables contact which, while not universal, is vastly more widespread than in any previous time. It means being influenced by a world-wide financial system, in which credit and debt and therefore interest rates are outside national control, which is dependent on those global telecommunications by which not only can a hiccup in the markets be transmitted round the world but holiday makers' unused travellers' cheques be worth more or less on their return home. It means being part of the New International Division of Labour, where a car or a computer can be made in one place out of components sourced from many places and produced under a variety of social relations of production as is most profitable for the manufacturing corporations at the time. It means being part of a worldwide market where even simple canned and packaged goods in a local supermarket may come from distant manufacturers, a process which is now being extended to fresh produce. It means increasing personal mobility for some as people travel further, more frequently and to less well-known places, on vacation as well as on business. These ramifications are common knowledge; even the mysteries of international finance, the Dow Jones, the Hang Seng and the current value of 'our dollar' appear on breakfast television. Beyond them are further implications.

It has been argued that transnational finance capital now regulates accumulation and in particular the creation of a 'global wage relation' in which production anywhere is regulated by value relations operating on a world scale. In addition,

> [t]he concept of a 'global wage relation' is used here to grasp the contradictory unity implied in the notion of global capital accumulation and the worldwide combination of various types of commodity-producing labour unified and reformulated by value relations. Whereas forms of wage and non-wage labour are both integral to the 'global wage relation', its very conception implies the subordination of non-wage labour forms to the regime of wage labour. Accordingly, since the value relations govern all forms of labour under this regime, all forms of labour are in principle in competition with one another (McMichael and Myhre 1991: 101, in Note 3 in Friedmann 1991: 35).

The attempts of Pacific Dunlop to force world best production, with all that entails at a household level, on small potato growers in north west Tasmania, outlined in Ch. 3, shows that this is not an academic fantasy. This radical argument theoretically links the housewife in her kitchen in Triabunna into some relationship with, say, the chief executive officer of IBM but the intricacies of such linkages have yet to be fully worked out. Marsden (1992), while 'not sufficiently clear as to the full consequences of these internationalizing effects', sums up their effects on rural labour markets thus:

> The conventional categories and formal boundaries of rural labour become increasingly redundant. There is more emphasis upon variable time and activity patterns; more casual and freelance work, variable leisure patterns, the erosion of the distinctiveness of domestic and formal labour and more 'hire and fire' vulnerability.
>
> Recent analyses of rural labour suggest that the novelty of these forms of labour activity is tempered by higher levels of exploitation and declining levels of social rights (Marsden 1992: 222).

What does a global sense of place entail? What is implied in looking at a local place from a global viewpoint or the global scene from a local vantage point? In Ch. 8, Massey's (1991) powerful conceptualisation of place as a meeting place at a particular time of networks of social relations constructed on a larger scale than what is regarded as the place itself at the moment of definition was introduced. It depends on the argument that mobility and communication, and control over them, both reflect and reinforce power. Because Massey is writing partly with the purpose of defending the importance of place as a necessary part of the creation of identity, not as a reactionary element unnecessary to jet-setting technocrats, the emphasis appears to be outward - 'extroverted' in fact. Even when discussing the web of power relations, of domination and subordination, the term 'increasingly stretched out over space' in the sense of attenuated, reaching further than perhaps realised, suggests outward movement. This way of thinking about time-space compression brings to mind the phraseology of communication networks themselves, of nodes and the more powerful hubs, with traffic going in all directions, inward and outward. There is also the salutary warning implicit in the terminology of packet switching, 'enter the cloud' and 'exit the cloud'. In many ways, this is the situation this conceptualisation is in, of not knowing fully and precisely what occurs in the linkages.

Looking at the global scene from a local stand point, it is important to note that the inputs are not only goods and services but include information, theories and innovations. Tasmania is currently affected in the new industrial relations legislation by economic ideas which originated in Europe and America, and are being tried out in New Zealand, but will affect every household with wage earners. Households with children or teenagers will be affected by the latest media personality from the Hendersons to Michael Jackson in speech, song and thought as well as fashion franchised from the media, as part of the creation of consumption. More subtly, as a state which has banned the use of CFCs, Tasmania will still be affected by their use in other places, and as a place with relatively little industry and few cars will nonetheless share in the forecast global warming from emissions of greenhouse gases elsewhere. Conversely, the political success of Tasmanian Green Independents has encouraged environmental movements elsewhere.

9.4.1 Theoretical implications

There are theoretical implications which follow from this view of place. Spring Bay was selected as a study area partly because its boundaries run through relatively empty areas so that in one view it is a discrete entity and a local labour market. In Massey's view, the idea of enclosing boundaries has little meaning. In many other ways this is an uncomfortable theorisation of place because it proposes new ways of looking at familiar ideas. Core and periphery, already under attack as an organising concept (Storper 1987), fade away in face of the query 'peripheral to what?' as the metaphor implies that each place is a core. Uneven development is a more robust concept but requires change from a state to a process. This is a change implicit in the Geographic Restructuring Model discussed in Ch. 2 and indeed the hub model of place facilitates the study of change from one 'moment' to another. There is also an alteration of emphasis to mechanisms of articulation and marginalisation (Howitt 1992) rather than the resulting state of marginality. This allows for the multiple identity of places, spelt out by Massey as 'a source of richness or conflict or both' (Massey 1991a: 28) as different processes affect different groups in different ways and thus cast even more doubt over the level playing field concept.

It also has implications for the conceptualisation of households which, being place based, fit into this schema too in a way that 'family' does not. In Massey (1991) households are mentioned once, but the discussion is at the scale of neighbourhoods or larger, possibly because this grew out of thinking at the regional or locality level. To conceive of households as hubs is not a replacement for pluriactivity as a window on to wider processes, since pluriactivity takes into account internal as well as external relations, but it adds other dimensions to the external relations. It is possible to envisage, for example, a household without a telephone or car, with tank water and a septic tank sewage system, living on social transfer payments which arrive by post and are cashed at the supermarket as there is no bank account, yet in touch with world affairs and tastes through television.

In Ch. 8 the question of whose reality will prevail at the local level is raised. Massey's point about places having multiple identities also applies to the global scene and many writers, including environmentalists, economists, politicians, economists and geographers, have been speculating on whose reality will prevail in global matters. Redclift's view about individual choice influencing the future global economy has already been quoted. Many argue that globalisation must be reversed:

> [t]he alternative may build on the two levels which become more important as national states lose regulative capacities: act locally *and* act globally; ... Regional economies which relink work and life, production and consumption, are the only comprehensive solutions to ecological, employment, land use, and consumption problems created by capital organized on a global or even a bloc scale (Friedmann 1991: 38).

9.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, at the end of a chapter in which many problematic issues have been raised, three general and inter-related points remain, some lingering thoughts on contemporaneity, postmodernism and representativeness.

There appears to be a tradition of contemporaneity in thesis writing, that since an argument is being presented rather than developed, the author has to write as if at all times she knows everything in the thesis. This timeless mode, of appearing to know everything before starting writing, is in contrast to the deliberately self-conscious awareness of entry points and of developing an argument put forward and practised by Resnick and Wolff (1987). In addition, the back and forwards integration of empirics and theory to which many theorists pay lip service is thus seldom made apparent in the text. Most writers also refer to turbulence and change. Change not only relates to how the real world is changing rapidly but also to how the leading edge of theory has moved on in the period of writing, and again casts doubts on the 'knowing all at all times' view of thesis writing. Turbulence is a phrase much used to describe the turmoil of theory and change in everyday life; this is significant because turbulence, although a state visible in a rushing mountain stream, is not explained by Newtonian physics and chaos theory has to be invoked. Popular expositions of chaos theory and its background have led to widespread discussion and acceptance of coming to terms with disorder. Thrift points to this in relation to geographical theory:

> [i]n a sense, the events of the 1980s seem to have set a seal on any notion of a single world order. It is a progression that can be found in theory, too: the whole thrust of theory is now towards coping with disorder (Thrift 1992: 3).

In keeping with the notion of coping with change then, some observations on perceptible changes in emphasis during the period of writing may be in order.

At the beginning of this thesis, an attitude was outlined which took into account postmodern as a critique, any other view appearing as contradictory in constructing a new essentialism. The assessment of postmodernism in geography has developed after Soja (1989) and Harvey (1989) especially in the first two issues in 1992 of *Environment and Planning D.* More writers appear to have been influenced by post-modernism as a critique; perceptions have widened and in economic geography have moved from purely marxist to include the effect of 'other voices', notably feminist and green but also other minority views. Nevertheless it is probably true to describe the current theoretical situation in the following terms:

> [a]t the level of everyday life, the claims of a 'postmodernisation' of Western urban cultures appear to many to be an abstract and forced attempt to unify contemporary cultural change under the rubric of yet another master narrative. For most people, 'postmodernism' is a term to be treated with caution as part of the specifying and classifying knowledge projects of the humanities and social sciences (Shields 1992: 184).

There is, however, another aspect to Shields' view: in applying the term 'postmodernity' to people's experience of the restructuring of everyday life, he describes a state of affairs with which many would agree:

> ... in everyday life, the restructuring of the world confronts the old categories of experience and patterns of action. ... The world is no longer given as a simple presence and as what is present, but as an incongruous synthesis of new social proximities which may not coincide with spatial proximity ... The resulting ambiguity is not just philosophical or a question of language games, but is the everyday, 'popular' experience of postmodernity. This is the difference that space makes (Shields 1992: 196).

The assumption underlying much theory that society is an ordered whole beneath which structural principles are to be found is being replaced by explicit acceptance that, in the much quoted phrase, 'societies are much messier than our theories of them' (Mann 1986: 4) and that theory must be more flexible. That is not to say, however, that underlying structures have been abandoned by everyone, but there has been a subtle shift in some writing. There has always been a link between postmodern ideas and locality studies, but recent writing has explicitly situated locality studies in postmodernism with realism informing postmodernism (Warf 1992). This takeover bid is surprising in that realism's search for underlying mechanisms appears to put it as a later form of structuralism and not as post-structural.

The queries raised earlier in this chapter about the 'politics of presence' link in with another question about the representation of reality. Statistical theory indicates that a sample of the sort made for the Spring Bay survey is representative of the population of the area and it is possible to accept that while manipulating codable data. If, however, the survey sample had begun on a different random number, what 'parallel universe' would have been revealed? Since all are unique individuals, the profile would inevitably

have been different, speaking of different experiences, giving access to different households with different places in the community. Even qualitative methods can only approximate reality, a sobering thought in keeping with the earlier discussion on agency and action, and the limits to objectivity.

What then can legitimately be said in conclusion? The introduction to this dissertation included Bhaskar's theory of transformative action. Many of the implications of this have been assessed in relation to society and space in Tasmania and particularly in Spring Bay. In the course of this it has been established that, although other factors than marxist concepts of class operate and allow some degrees of freedom in the organisation of everyday life, and sometimes alter the underlying structures, people operate within capitalism, however far from it they may wish to be; in Bhaskar's words,

> [s]ociety, then, is an articulated ensemble of tendencies and powers which, unlike natural ones, exist only as long as they (or at least some of them) are being exercised; are exercised in the last instance via the intentional activity of human beings; and are not necessarily space-time invariant (Bhaskar 1989: 79).

In the introduction two questions were posed: whether the adjustment of theoretical perspectives would prove sufficient to come to terms with the perceived crisis in world capitalism; and whether the theoretical perspectives would prompt the right questions to elicit understanding of rapid change and spatial differentiation. Three years ago, the answer to those questions would have had to be equivocal. The emergence since then of new strands of theory has created a future with perhaps more definition, possibilities and challenge. The powerful perceptions of pluriactivity as a link between capital and households, of household activities exerting influences of global proportions environmentally as well as economically, of a new view of producer/consumer relations, both at a personal and household level and in the creation and servicing of consumption, and of a global wage relation spanning formal and informal activities, together offer a new way of conceptualising local social situations. A grasp of the processes by which these local situations are integrated into and reflexively influenced by global capital and regulatory frameworks, and the resolution of the problem of sustainable development require a fresh perspective which has been potentially provided by the emancipatory insights of a global sense of place.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

1. Sampling procedure

1. All entries for the Spring Bay Municipality in the latest available copy (29 September 1989) of the Electoral Roll for the Division of Lyons, were marked. These were identified by being listed under the placenames Orford, Triabunna, Buckland, Rheban, Levendale, Wielangta and Little Swanport. A check was made of the Little Swanport entries to separate those in the Spring Bay Municipality from those in the Glamorgan Municipality. There is only a postal delivery in Triabunna, and the precise location of some of the more generalised addresses was in doubt since postal areas, municipalities and the first two digits of telephone numbers do not necessarily coincide. The decision was taken to replace any in outlying areas which proved to be in neighbouring municipalities. A similar decision was taken in regard to the possibility of people who had exercised their option to vote in the area of their second home but who worked in the area of their first home.

2. Spot checks of random pages in the Electoral Roll were made to check the accuracy of the marking.

3. 1366 entries were found, so to obtain an initial sample of about 100, every 13th entry was chosen, starting at a number chosen at random between and including 1 and 13. This yielded a sample of 107.

4. To obtain a reserve sample to be drawn on for replacements in the initial sample, every 13th entry was again chosen, starting from a number chosen at random between 1 and 25, but excluding the number used as the previous starting point.

5. A check was made for any deceased, in the records of the local Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths, and, as these records do not cover deaths which occurred outside the municipality, two local resourcepersons were consulted, and those entries were deleted.

6. Entries of persons known to have left the area were also deleted, as were those known or found not to be interviewable for other reasons.

7. Any instances of duplicated household addresses were deleted.

8. The following procedures were decided upon:
   i. to send an explanatory letter asking for an interview, followed by a phone call to ascertain agreement, and where possible to fix a time.

ii. to make three attempts to make contact.

9. When the initial sample fell below 100, a replacement was put in from the reserve sample.

10. The explanatory letters were sent out alphabetically in batches of 15, but those who could not be identified in the phone book were left till last, and informal enquiries were made.

2 Introductory letter

On headed paper of the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania

Dear

I am a mature age student in the Department of Geography at the University of Tasmania in Hobart. Basically I am interested in looking at the causes of changes in local employment.

I have randomly chosen people in the Spring Bay area from the electoral roll, and would like to ask them about changes in jobs in the Spring Bay area over the last five years. I would also like to ask about what sorts of everyday jobs people do for themselves and which they use other people for.

Your name came up on my list, and I would be very grateful if you would be able to talk to me. I can assure you that any information given would be completely confidential.

I hope you will agree to see me. I will phone you in a day or two to see if you are willing and if so to fix a time.

Yours sincerely

Mrs Shirley Grosvenor
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies
University of Tasmania
Orford phone: 57 1607

3 The interview schedule

(printed in a larger format and separated into individual schedules, i.e. section 1, 14 and one other part.)

SPRING BAY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW NUMBER.....

1. FILTERS

1.1 Do you have either a full-time, a part-time job, or both?

1.2 Are you employed, self-employed or both?

1.3 Do you employ anyone else?

1.4 Which of the following best describes your situation? Show Card C

1. home duties (not retired)
2. unpaid worker in family farm/business
3. student
4. unemployed
5. retired (including home duties)
6. invalid pensioner
7. single supporting parent
8. other • specify

2. FULL-TIME EMPLOYED

2.1 Who do you work for? Code for ASIC • include business name

2.2 Where do you work?

2.3 How many people work there? Show Card B

2.4 What job do you do there? Code for ASCO

2.5 How long have you been with your present employer? If under 5 years, trace previous job history as in 2.1-2.3 with reasons

2.6 How long have you been doing your present job with him/her? If under 5 years, trace changes

2.7 How did you get your present job?

1. CES
2. advertisement
3. through school
4. through parents
5. through other recommendation
6. promotion
7. other

2.8 What does your present job involve?

- Hours
- Penalty rates
- Overtime available or compulsory
- Job specification
- Skills
- Qualifications need for upgrading?
- Any change over period held?
- Opportunities for promotion/job improvement
- Security of tenure, amount of notice required

2.9 Do you belong to a trade union?

- which?
- in what ways has it helped you in the last 5 years?
- are you active in the union?
- if not union member, reasons?

2.10 Are you satisfied with your present job?

- what do you like best about it?
- what suits you least?
- if not, why do you stay?

2.11 Can you identify any factors in the last 5 years which have caused change in your job, for better or worse?

- taxes etc.
- recession
- tariffs
- changes of govt.
- green movement
- world prices
- changes in tech.
- cost of capital
- availability of capital
- equal pay
- equal opportunity

3. <u>EMPLOYED BUT NOT FULL-TIME [or full year]</u>

3.1 Who do you work for?

Code for ASIC
- include business name

3.2 Where do you work?

3.3 How many people work there?

Show Card B

3.4 What job do you do there?

Code for ASCO

3.5 How long have you been with your present employer?

If under 5 years, trace previous job history as in 2.1-2.3 with reasons

3.6 How long have you been doing your <u>present job</u> with him/her?

If under 5 years, trace changes

3.7 Which of these descriptions best fits your job?

1. part-time
2. permanent part-time
3. casual
4. seasonal

3.8 Would you prefer to work full-time?

- reasons for choice

3.9 How did you get your current job?

1. CES
2. advertisement
3. through school
4. through parents
5. through other recommendation

3.10 What does your present job involve?

- Hours
- Penalty rates
- Overtime available or compulsory
- Job specification
- Skills
- Qualifications need for upgrading?
- Any change over period held?
- Opportunities for promotion/job improvement
- Security of tenure, amount of notice required, rehiring prospects

3.11 Do you belong to a trade union?

- which?
- has it helped you personally in the last 5 years?
- are you active in the union?
- if not union member, reasons?

3.12 Are you satisfied with your present job?

- what do you like best about it?
- what suits you least?
- if not, why do you stay?

3.13 Can you identify any factors in the last 5 years which have caused change in your job, for better or worse?

- taxes etc.
- recession
- tariffs
- changes of govt.
- green movement
- world prices
- changes in tech.
- cost of capital
- availability of capital
- equal pay
- equal opportunity

4. SELF-EMPLOYED

4.1 What type of business are you in?

- Code for ASIC

4.2 What is the legal status of your business?

- sole trader

- partnership • family
- private company

4.3 What is your business name (if any)?

4.4 How long have you owned the business?
- always at same location?
- how did you start?
- what did you do previously?

4.5 What does your job involve?
- code for ASCO
- hours
- skills
- types of activity
- variability
- seasonality

4.6 Did you have any training or qualification, appropriate to your present business or other?

Would you have liked/like to have further formal training?

4.7 What do you see as the chief advantages of being self-employed?

4.8 Do you belong to any industry organisations?
- Chamber of Commerce
- industry specific
- small business

4.9 Can you identify any factors in the last 5 years which have caused change in your business, for better or worse?
- taxes etc.
- recession
- tariffs
- changes of govt.
- green movement
- world prices
- changes in tech.
- cost of capital
- availability of capital
- equal pay
- equal opportunity

4.10 What sort of linkages does your business have with the <u>local</u> economy?
[local = Spring Bay]
- contracting
- services
- market

4.11 How do you see the future of your business?
- problems
- targets
- satisfaction

5. <u>EMPLOYER</u>

5.1 What type of business are you in?
- Code for ASIC

5.2 What is the legal status of your business?
- sole trader
- partnership • family
- public company

- private company

5.3 What is your business name (if any)?

5.4 How long have you owned the business?
- always at same location?
- how did you start?
- what did you do previously?

5.5 What does your job involve?
- hours
- skills
- types of activity
- variability
- seasonality

5.6 Did you have any training or qualification, appropriate to your present business? or other?

Would you have liked/like to have further formal training?

5.7 Do you belong to any employer organisations?
- Chamber of Commerce
- industry specific
- small business

5.8 How many people do you employ?

	M White or blue collar	F White or blue collar
1. Full-time		
2. Part-time		
3. Casual		
4. Seasonal		

5.9 What services do you buy?
- contractors
- financial
- other

5.10 Has your employment pattern changed in any way over the last 5 years? (or the time you have had the business if less than 5 years)
- structure
- reasons

5.11 How do you recruit workers?
1. CES
2. advertisement
3. through school
4. through parents
5. through other recommendation

5.12 Do you have any problems recruiting workers?

- Do they lack any skills/characteristics you would wish them to have?
- Do you
  - require qualifications
  - provide pre-job/on the job training
  - provide apprenticeships

5.13 Do you use government subsidies in employing new workers?

1. Add an Apprentice
2. Traineeship Tasmania
3. Young Managers
4. Training Express
5. Taswork II
6. Job Start
7. Other

5.14 Is there a job hierarchy or promotional opportunities in the business?

5.15 Are your workers members of a trade union?

- Which union?
- Are any active members?
- In what capacity?
- Have there been any issues involving unions in your business in the last 5 years?

5.16 Can you identify any factors in the last 5 years which have caused change in your business, for better or worse?

- taxes etc.
- recession
- tariffs
- changes of govt.
- green movement
- world prices
- changes in tech.
- cost of capital
- availability of capital
- equal pay
- equal opportunity

5.17 What sort of linkages does your business have with the <u>local</u> economy?

- raw materials
- labour
- contracting
- services
- market

5.18 Do you pay award rates?

5.19 How do you see the future of your business?

- problems
- targets
- satisfaction

6. <u>HOME DUTIES</u>

6.1 People stay at home for a variety of reasons. What would you consider your main reason?

- for the good of the family
- children under school age
- lack of adequate child care facilities
- other family responsibilities
- no suitable job available
- to pursue other interests
- happy at home
- other

6.2 Have you had a paid job in the last 5 years?
- details
- qualifications
- why did you leave?
- have you had difficulty in getting paid work when you wanted it?
- have you ever had difficulty in getting a <u>suitable</u> job?

[If no, 6.2a Have you ever had a paid job?]

6.3 Have you ever been in a position where you found that it wasn't worth it for you to work?

6.4 Would you like to have paid work now?

6.5 [If appropriate] Do you think you will go back to paid work?
- if yes, when?
- if no, why not?

7. <u>UNPAID WORKER IN FAMILY FARM/BUSINESS</u>

7.1 What type of family enterprise is it?

1. farm
   - poultry
   - fruit
   - vegetable
   - animals and cereals
   - other
2. retail shop
   - specify
3. other
   - specify

7.2 How many people work in the enterprise?

7.3 What kind of role do you have in the day-to-day activities of the farm/business?
- what hours do you put in?
- what do you do?

7.4 Are there times of the year when you are more involved?
- end of financial year
- harvest
- school holidays
- sorts of extra work?
- how many extra hours?

7.5 Is this business/farm a family partnership?

7.6 Have you had a paid job in the last 5 years?
- details
- why did you leave?
- have you had difficulty in getting paid work when you wanted it?
- have you ever had difficulty in getting a <u>suitable</u> job?

[If no, 7.5a Have you ever had a paid job?]

7.7 Have you ever been in a position where you found that it wasn't worth it for you to work?

7.8 Would you prefer to have paid work now?

7.9 [If appropriate] Do you think you will go back to paid work?
- if yes, when?
- if no, why not?

8. STUDENT

8.1 Where and what are you studying?

8.2 Are you studying full-time or part-time?

8.3 Did you have paid employment before you began tertiary studies?
- details

8.4 [nb intended as a check - and aimed at reasons for not]
Do you work part-time , casual or seasonal for pay?
- details
- if not, reasons
  - no need
  - no time
  - no opportunity

8.5 Do you receive financial help?
- Austudy
- allowance from parents
- industry sponsorship
- other

9. UNEMPLOYED

9.1 How long have you been without a job?

9.2 What jobs have you had in the last 5 years [nb if any]?

9.3 Why did your last job [if any] end?

9.4 What ways are you looking for a job?
1. CES
2. answering advertisements
5. other •specify

9.6 If you were offered a job which meant moving out of the area, would you take it?
- reasons

9.7 How much time do you spend in a week in looking for a job?

9.8 What do you do with the rest of your time?
- self provisioning
- training
- other

9.9 What do you see as the main causes of unemployment?

10. RETIRED (including home duties)

10.1 How long have you been retired?

10.2 What age were you when you retired?

10.3 Would you like to have gone on working?

10.4 Who did you work for in your last job?

10.5 Where did you work?

10.6 How many people worked there?

10.7 What job did you do there?

10.9 [if appropriate] Would you like a part-time job now if a suitable one was offered?

12. INVALID PENSIONER

12.1 How long have you been in your present situation?

12.2 Have you had a paid job in the last 5 years?

- Who did you work for?
- Where did you work?
- How many people worked there?
- What job did you do there?
- How long were you in your last job?

12.3 Would you like a job now if a suitable one was offered?

12. SINGLE SUPPORTING PARENT

12.1 How long have you been in your present situation?

12.2 Have you had a paid job in the last 5 years?

- Who did you work for?
- Where did you work?
- How many people worked there?
- What job did you do there?
- How long were you in your last job?

12.3 Would you like a job now if a suitable one was offered?

- full or part-time?
- childcare provision?

12.4 Have you ever been in a position where you found that it wasn't worth it for you to work?

13 OTHER

Use master copy as appropriate

14. HOUSEHOLD RESPONSIBILITIES AND STRATEGIES

14.1 Who lives here with you permanently?

- marital status
- number and ages of children
- children living away from home
- any other adults

14.2 Has this situation changed in the last 5 years?

- if so how?

14.3 What other family responsibilities do you have?

- children of a previous marriage
- help to elderly or sick relatives
- establish level of responsibility:

occasional, frequent, regular visits; maintenance

14.4 Who would do the following tasks in your household?

	Domestic				Other family	Community	Normal payment	Underground		Not applicable
	M	F	S	D				Mates rates	Barter	
Home maintenance										
painting										
mending broken window										
family finances, paying bills										
cutting lawns										
Domestic production										
baking cakes										
knitting										
making other clothes										
vegetables										
preserves										
bread										
beer or wine										
fish										
eggs										
firewood										
meat										
Car maintenance (where appropriate)										
washing car										
engine tuning										
new spark plugs										
taking car for service										
Child care where appropriate										
collecting children from school										
collecting children from sport										
parent/teacher interviews										
nursing sick children										
cutting child's hair										
bathing children										

14.5 What local organisations do you belong to?

- social
- sport
- service
- community

14.6 Which of these best reflects your housing situation? Show Card D

1. renting from relative
2. renting from employer
3. other renting
4. living with older generation of family
5. own house: paying mortgage
6. own house: no mortgage
7. other

14.7 [Where appropriate]
Is there an award rate for your job?

- Do you know what it is?
- Do you receive it? Above? Below?

14.8 Which category is your wage or salary for this job in? Show Card A

14.9 Does your household have any other forms of income?

- second job
- spouse's job
- job of other family member
- pension
- rents
- other

14.10 Has this structure of your household income changed in the last 5 years?

- if so how?

14.11 Is yours the main income of the household?

- estimate %?

14.12 Which of the following age groups are you in?

- show Card E

1. 18-25
2. 26-35
3. 36-45
4. 46-55
5. 56-65
6. over 65

14.13 At what age did you finish full-time education?

14.14 Lots of people say that times are difficult, money doesn't buy what it used to and people have their own ways of managing. How do you 'get by'? Has it changed in the last 5 years?

4. Cards

Card A Wage/salary/income/pension before tax

Individual

	Week	Fortnight	Month	Year
1.	$75	$150	$325	$3,900
2.	$115	$230	$500	$6,000
3.	$140	$280	$600	$7,300
4.	$340	$680	$1,475	$17,700
5.	$460	$920	$2,000	$24,000
6.	$560	$1,120	$2,400	$29,000
7.	$770	$1540	$3,300	$40,000
8.	$960	$1920	$4,200	$50,000
9.	$1440	$2880	$6250	$75,000
10.				

Household

	Week	Fortnight	Month	Year
1.	$115	$230	$500	$6,000
2.	$140	$280	$600	$7,300
3.	$340	$680	$1,475	$17,700
4.	$460	$920	$2,000	$24,000
5.	$560	$1,120	$2,400	$29,000
6.	$770	$1540	$3,300	$40,000
7.	$960	$1920	$4,200	$50,000
8.	$1440	$2880	$6250	$75,000
9.				

Card B Numbers employed

1. 1-2
2. 3-4
3. 5-9
4. 10-14
5. 15-19
6. 20-29
7. 30-49
8. 50-99
9. 100- 499
10. over 500

Card C

1. home duties (not retired)
2. unpaid worker in family farm/business
3. student
4. unemployed
5. retired (including home duties)
6. invalid pensioner
7. single supporting parent
8. other

Card D Housing situation

1. renting from relative
2. renting from employer
3. other renting
4. living with older generation of family
5. own house: paying mortgage
6. own house: no mortgage
7. other

Card E Age groups

1. 18-25
2. 26-35
3. 36-45
4. 46-55
5. 56-65
6. Over 65

5. Letter of thanks

25 July 1991

The Editor
Central Coast Courier
PO Box 44
Orford 7190

Dear Sir

May I use your columns to express my sincere thanks to more than a hundred people in the Spring Bay municipality? In April I began a series of interviews to form part of my doctoral thesis in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Tasmania. I interviewed a random sample from the electoral roll about labour market experiences and the relation of paid employment to other forms of work in the area. It was not perhaps the best time to be doing it, in view of the flu outbreak and industrial trouble, but I met with nothing but help, patience and kindness. This was not only from the hundred who talked to me about their jobs and households, but also from people who helped me to match names from the roll to phone numbers and addresses.

There are a few people that I wrote to that I have not subsequently been able to contact. I am sorry that I did not get to meet them, and ask them to ignore my letter if, for example, they return from holiday to find it waiting.

For the rest, I am grateful not just for the help towards my thesis but for three months that I will always remember, meeting such a variety of interesting people.

Yours sincerely

Shirley Grosvenor

APPENDIX B

1. Employment by industry data

Table B1 Information upon which Table 3.8 based: male employment by industry, Tasmania 1971-1986

	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%
Agriculture	1678	3.81	3084	5.54	2808	4.60	3406	5.09
Mining	204	0.46	258	0.46	285	0.47	198	0.30
Manufacturing	6219	14.13	4874	8.76	4751	7.78	5178	7.73
Utilities	293	0.67	231	0.42	333	0.55	386	0.58
Construction	415	0.94	860	1.55	1068	1.75	1235	1.84
Wholesale and retail	10594	24.06	11211	20.15	11988	19.62	13467	20.11
Transport and storage	676	1.54	855	1.54	1012	1.66	1252	1.87
Communications	794	1.80	699	1.26	866	1.42	928	1.39
Finance etc.	3285	7.46	4209	7.56	4936	8.08	5817	8.69
Public admin. etc.	2223	5.05	2317	4.16	2791	4.57	3186	4.76
Community services	11244	25.54	15630	28.09	18748	30.69	22560	33.69
Recreation etc.	4713	10.70	5328	9.58	5913	9.68	7128	10.65
Total inc. n/s	44028	100.00	55642	100.00	61089	100.00	66955	100.00

Table B2 Information upon which Table 3.15 based: female employment by industry, Tasmania 1971-1986

	1971		1976		1981		1986	
	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%
Agriculture	12094	11.40	9618	8.92	10182	9.35	9660	8.99
Mining	4375	4.13	3952	3.67	4026	3.70	3100	2.89
Manufacturing	25312	23.87	22792	21.14	21371	19.63	19540	18.19
Utilities	3389	3.20	2950	2.74	4308	3.96	4666	4.34
Construction	12502	11.79	11730	10.88	9894	9.09	10090	9.39
Wholesale and retail	16522	15.58	17929	16.63	17089	15.70	17851	16.61
Transport and storage	6787	6.40	6980	6.47	6888	6.33	7000	6.52
Communications	2443	2.30	2436	2.26	2532	2.33	2632	2.45
Finance etc.	4537	4.28	5648	5.24	5824	5.35	6391	5.95
Public admin. etc.	4986	4.70	5431	5.04	6051	5.56	5816	5.41
Community services	6516	6.14	8873	8.23	10868	9.98	12476	11.61
Recreation etc.	2904	2.74	4161	3.86	4296	3.95	4783	4.45
Total inc. n/s	106052	100.00	107805	100.00	108875	100.00	107443	100.00

2. Regional occupation data 1986

Table B3 Employment by occupation, Hobart 1986

Major occupation group	Males		Females	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Managers & administrators	4506	10.88	1290	4.45
Professionals	6002	14.49	3969	13.70
Para-professionals	3302	7.97	2662	9.19
Tradespersons	9368	22.62	1286	4.44
Clerks	4468	10.79	9542	32.93
Sales & personal services	3878	9.36	6148	21.22
Plant & machine operators	4361	10.53	465	1.60
Labourers	5531	13.35	3616	12.48
Total	41416	100.00	28978	100.00

Table B4 Employment by occupation, Tamar 1986

Major occupation group	Males		Females	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Managers & administrators	3529	14.07	1175	7.37
Professionals	2421	9.65	1875	11.76
Para-professionals	1401	5.59	1433	8.99
Tradespersons	6035	24.06	818	5.13
Clerks	1601	6.38	4240	26.60
Sales & personal services	2292	9.14	3644	22.86
Plant & machine operators	3736	14.89	538	3.38
Labourers	4068	16.22	2216	13.90
Total	25083	100.00	15939	100.00

Table B5 Employment by occupation, Mid Northwest 1986

Major occupation group	Males		Females	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Managers & administrators	1715	15.43	623	8.87
Professionals	883	7.94	779	11.09
Para-professionals	490	4.41	562	8.00
Tradespersons	2753	24.77	311	4.43
Clerks	561	5.05	1573	22.39
Sales & personal services	840	7.56	1493	21.25
Plant & machine operators	1859	16.72	343	4.88
Labourers	2015	18.13	1342	19.10
Total	11116	100.00	7026	100.00

Table B6 Employment by occupation, Far Northwest 1986

Major occupation group	Males		Females	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Managers & administrators	2076	17.84	807	12.56
Professionals	901	7.74	728	11.33
Para-professionals	512	4.40	512	7.97
Tradespersons	2540	21.83	279	4.34
Clerks	586	5.04	1633	25.42
Sales & personal services	758	6.51	1300	20.24
Plant & machine operators	2108	18.11	126	1.96
Labourers	2156	18.53	1038	16.16
Total	11637	100.00	6423	100.00

Table B7 Employment by occupation, Inner South 1986

Major occupation group	Males		Females	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Managers & administrators	1129	20.36	457	14.59
Professionals	373	6.73	323	10.31
Para-professionals	326	5.88	230	7.34
Tradespersons	1108	19.99	154	4.92
Clerks	249	4.49	800	25.53
Sales & personal services	284	5.12	546	17.43
Plant & machine operators	938	16.92	75	2.39
Labourers	1137	20.51	548	17.49
Total	5544	100.00	3133	100.00

Table B8 Employment by occupation, Outer South 1986

Major occupation group	Males		Females	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Managers & administrators	512	21.55	230	22.50
Professionals	97	4.08	98	9.59
Para-professionals	106	4.46	46	4.50
Tradespersons	429	18.06	66	6.46
Clerks	57	2.40	212	20.74
Sales & personal services	78	3.28	158	15.46
Plant & machine operators	475	19.99	16	1.57
Labourers	622	26.18	196	19.18
Total	2376	100.00	1022	100.00

Table B9 Employment by occupation, Northeast 1986

Major occupation group	Males		Females	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Managers & administrators	876	24.39	359	18.77
Professionals	183	5.10	188	9.83
Para-professionals	141	3.93	102	5.33
Tradespersons	593	16.51	86	4.50
Clerks	82	2.28	357	18.66
Sales & personal services	163	4.54	386	20.18
Plant & machine operators	618	17.21	39	2.04
Labourers	935	26.04	396	20.70
Total	3591	100.00	1913	100.00

Table B10 Employment by occupation, Lyell 1986

Major occupation group	Males		Females	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Managers & administrators	168	4.40	56	4.98
Professionals	315	8.25	149	13.26
Para-professionals	226	5.92	80	7.12
Tradespersons	1013	26.53	53	4.72
Clerks	107	2.80	271	24.11
Sales & personal services	47	1.23	265	23.58
Plant & machine operators	1080	28.28	17	1.51
Labourers	863	22.60	233	20.73
Total	3819	100.00	1124	100.00